

philologia

The Virginia Tech Undergraduate Research Journal
for the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences

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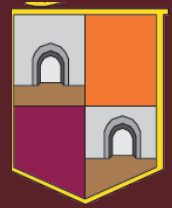
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Letter from the Editors

We are proud to release Vol. V of *Philologia*, the Undergraduate Research Journal of the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences.

This year's issue features diversity as a recurring theme, which developed organically in the types of pieces we received. Research topics include slavery abolition at the beginning of Virginia's history, current student attitudes toward race, and feminism, among others. Additionally, we have included a featured article on research that took place in Sri Lanka as well as an historical research article on the history of Ethiopia's only emperor. We feel that these pieces highlight the diversity of people and scholarship within the College, as well as its continued international growth. The cover features Sri Lankan architecture, which underscores this theme.

This Journal would not have been possible without the tireless support from Dr. Diana Ridgwell, our faculty reviewers and board, and Dean Sue Ott Rowlands. We truly thank you for your guidance throughout the year. Additionally, we would like to thank our student layout editor, associate editors, and marketing director for their countless hours of work.

"Philologia" means "scholarship, love of learning;" we hope that you enjoy learning from this interscholastic research as much as we have enjoyed putting this issue together. Thank you for your never-ending support.

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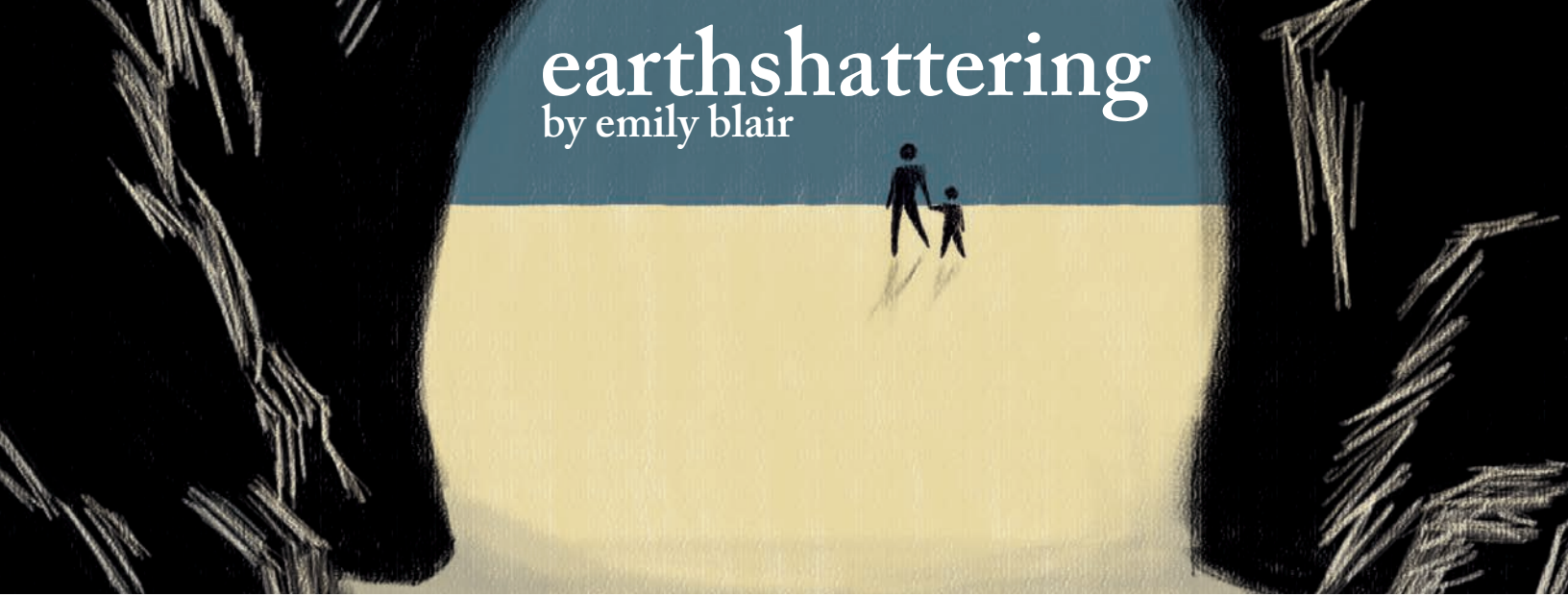
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Creative Scholarship
Creative

earthshattering

by emily blair



If you take a man
And pound him
Into a machine—
Not even that,
A gear in a machine
Which he cannot see—
But its pull is felt
Every day of his lifetime—
And if this man
Knows that he is worthless
To the monster that owns him—
Is it any wonder
That this shamed beast
Should rule his family
By fist and roar?
And could such a man,
Who cannot shit at work
Without reprimand,
Who eats between whistles,
Who knows not the feeling of his skin
Or his father's skin
Without benefit of coal dust—
Could such a man be so far
From raising a darkened hand
To the only subordinates
He will ever have?

And what of the son
Of this man,
Who has never seen his father
In strong daylight,
(Save on bleak Christmases
When presents are socks)—

Who has no one to tell him
Get out of this place—
Who does not hear but feels
The resentment of this man
As the boy
Runs
From rock to rock
And the man sits stooped in pain
Beneath smudged twilight—
Can this boy leave
Such a father?

Can he hate
Such a father?

Or must he become
His father,
Kept in the trap of making it
Better
For his mother,
And this man
Whose tarred lungs promise
Twenty years of bills
Ahead—

Can this boy be anyone
But his father's son?



riches

by emily blair

I didn't know I grow'd up poor.

I ate rich food three times a day,
My clothes were clean
And my sister's old shoes fit perfectly,
And if we only ate at restaurants on our
birthdays—
It was because Momma cooked so fine.

We had two cars,
Or a car and a half,
Cause that old truck had faded to pink
And Momma got worried
When Daddy went to chicken shows in
Winston-Salem—
And naw!
They ain't fighting cocks,
They're show-chickens,
Purebred and spoiled—
Daddy's only hobby.

My Momma taught me my letters
And watched me read every book in the
house,
Told me how to tell clock hands
And banned all them trashy soap operas,
Cause I's too young
For that education—

And when my Daddy wasn't too tired
From double-pay overtime that Momma
prayed for,
He taught me how to tie my shoes

And plant tomatyhs,
To skip
And play jacks,
To dribble a basketball
With my left hand—

And when my sister got home from school,
I clung to her like a cocklebur,
Begging her to play with me—
So she taught me times-tables
And let me fiddle with her long blond hair,
And almost let me win when we raced
From the backdoor to the well-house and
back,
With the dogs running along
Barking like Jesus had risen again—
We right wore ourselves out
Collecting candy from our kin
In Ivanhoe every Halloween,
Garnering praise for the costumes
That Momma pieced together
From felt scraps and stray buttons—
And the moon hung low over the Buick
As it crawled across unpaved roads,
And Momma rested her hand on Daddy's
arm
While I watched their silhouettes
Against the glow of the digital clock—

So how was I to know I grow'd up poor?



remembrance

by chelsea stone

She's kissing him on the cheek.
He's playing Rook, maybe, or Poker,
grinning like his favorite team just won the playoffs.
(No, I'm sure now, it's Rook they're playing.)
His flannel button-up is stained,
as always. Her purple sleeveless shirt
is the same one she wears on holidays.
They're still young,
before gray took the place of color,
before stress lines and weathered eyes.
I never saw them kiss when I was growing up, but
I did see the subtle shoulder brushes and
the glances from across ashtrays and crowded houses.
I never doubted their happiness.
Not even once.
She always wore a grin
even while dealing with grandkids
and cooking dinner for twelve.
They couldn't have known that the cigarette
with smoke rising toward the harsh yellowed ceiling
in her hand
would undo them both.
They couldn't have known that it would come for him quietly,
after struggle,
on her birthday
and then again for her, a few years later,
near Easter.
My uncle buried that photograph with her.
He says she's the one who should keep
that memory.

About the Authors



Emily Blair is a sophomore English major, double focusing in Creative Writing and Literature, with plans to graduate in Spring 2015. She would like to thank Kara Dodson, a Fall 2012 Virginia Tech graduate, for giving her the inspiration for "Earthshattering," **Dr. Jack Dudley**, retired University Honors director, for believing she could give voice to Appalachia, and her family for never asking her to write or dream less.



Chelsea Stone is a junior majoring in English and is going to graduate school after graduation. She would like to thank **Aileen Murphy** for her guidance and support.



Research Articles

Research



Black English in America

It Ain't Nothin' To Ignore
by Jessie Abell

This report uses the representation of Black English in literature as a lens to examine its history, current state, and future in America. This research draws upon various texts and online sources that examine Black English in America. The purpose of this article is to establish the legitimacy of Black English as a fully functioning and valid dialect of Standard English.

Introduction

Kathryn Stockett's popular and widely acclaimed 2009 novel, *The Help*, tells the story of black housemaids in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1962 through the perspective of three different characters. Two of the women, Aibileen and Minnie, are black housemaids, while the third, Skeeter, is White and a recent college graduate. The narrative style of Aibileen and Minnie is markedly different than Skeeter's in vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, because Stockett chose to write the two black women's narratives using features of Black English. If Stockett had written Aibileen and Minnie's narratives using the same linguistic features as Skeeter's, she would have inaccurately portrayed the differences in the vernaculars of black and White Americans that can still be heard today.

The Help is an uplifting story of black and White women who come together in an attempt to bring about change in the Deep South during the last decade of the Jim Crow laws, but not all representations of Black English have such a positive story. Black English has consistently and often inaccurately been used in literature to perpetuate racist stereotypes. Black English (also known as Ebonics, Black Vernacular English, and African American English) exists as more than just a literary style; it is a spoken dialect that dates back to the arrival of the first slaves in America. Black English's inextricable link with the history of slavery and racism accounts for its subjugation and the overwhelmingly negative view of the dialect as simply slang or an improper way of speaking Standard English.

In fact, Black English is a full dialect with a rich and compelling history that reflects the survival of a people who suffered through hundreds of years of racism—a reflection that Standard English simply cannot accomplish. Modern scholars, linguists, and the public must recognize Black English as a legitimate dialect of Standard English and a central part of American history; to further deny this, is to deny black Americans the right to celebrate and honor their history and culture through Black English.

Black English in *The Help* and Its Linguistic Features: A Full Dialect

Beginning on the very first page of *The Help*, Kathryn Stockett employs phonological, syntactical, and grammatical features of Black English to reflect Aibileen's vernacular. The novel opens:

¹Taking care a White babies, that's what I do, along with all the cooking and the cleaning.² I done raised seventeen

kids in my lifetime.³ I know how to get them babies to sleep, stop crying, and go in the toilet bowl before they mamas even get out a bed in the morning.⁴ But I ain't never seen a baby yell like Mae Mobley Leefolt.⁵ First day I walk in the door, there she be...⁶ it didn't take two minutes fore Baby Girl stopped her crying, got to smiling up at me like she do...⁷ Mae Mobley two years old now. (1-2)

The following list details the linguistic elements of Black English in each sentence of the above passage. Sentence one in the passage, indicated by a superscript 1 before the sentence, will be analyzed after "Sentence 1:" and so on.

Sentence 1: In "Taking care **a** White babies," the use of *a* instead of *of* reflects the loss of the final sound in a word.

Sentence 2: In "I **done** raised seventeen kids in my lifetime," *done* acts as an auxiliary verb to indicate perfect aspect where *have* would in Standard English (Dillard 48).

Sentence 3: In "I know how to get **them** babies to sleep," *them* acts as a marker for plurality: here, *them* "does not simply indicate that more than one [baby] is being referred to; it also indicates that it is 'those' and not 'these' [babies], and the plural is...marked by the *s* ending [on 'babies']" (Rickford and Rickford 110-111). Also in sentence three, in "before **they** mamas even get out a bed," the use of *they* instead of *their* reflects r-deletion, most commonly heard in *yo'* for your.

Sentence 4: "I **ain't never** seen a baby yell," represents two linguistic elements of Black English: the use of *ain't* for *haven't* and the double negative of *ain't never*, which is "one of the most commonly discussed features of the black vernacular" (Rickford and Rickford 123).

Sentence 5: Sentence five also contains two linguistic elements of Black English: the elimination of *-ed* for past tense and the use of the variant *be* as a substitute for *was*. In "First day I walk in the door," the absence of *-ed* to mark past tense represents the fact that *-ed* "does not furnish any meaningful signal for [the] linguistic system" of Black English (Dillard 52). "There she **be**" exemplifies "one of the most celebrated features of [Black English]," the verb *be* and its ability to replace *am*, *is*, *are*, *was*, and *were*, as well as its function as an invariant verb that "describes an event that is performed regularly or habitually, as in 'He be talkin' with his lady every day'" (Rickford and Rickford 113).

Sentence 6: In "it didn't take two minutes **fore** Baby Girl

stopped her crying,” *fore* instead of *before* represents “the fact that blacks (especially older ones) delete the unstressed initial and medial syllables” in some words (Rickford and Rickford 102).

Sentence 7: “Mae Mobley two years old now” reflects what is “known among linguists as zero copula—that is, the absence of *is*,” an extremely common linguistic element of Black English (Rickford and Rickford 114).

While Stockett employs a multitude of the linguistic elements of Black English to represent the black characters’ voices in *The Help*, she leaves out just as many. Black English has too many linguistic features to name all of them in a short research report; the dialect employs a systematic and rule-governed grammar, pronunciation patterns, and a unique vocabulary (Rickford and Rickford 91). In short, Black English is a fully functioning dialect that includes all of the elements necessary to perform as an “expressive instrument in American literature, religion, entertainment, and everyday life” and, equally as important, it “often thrives when and where Standard English is left mute” (Rickford and Rickford 4, 38).

The Effect of Using Black English in Literature

The stylistic effect of using Black English in *The Help* is that the voices of Aibileen and Minnie read as authentically as possible. If the above excerpt did not include any features of Black English, the black housemaids’ narratives would not accurately represent the way a black housemaid in 1962 would have sounded in speech or in writing. The use of Black English in American literature as a stylistic tool has a long-standing history; it has been used as a celebration of black culture and identity for hundreds of years, but also (and sadly, much more frequently) as a vehicle to perpetuate racism.

The minstrel show, a play put on by slaves for themselves and later masters and guests, was a popular American tradition from around 1840 to 1900 (Rickford and Rickford 30). As Sylvia Wallace Holton states in *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English* by John and Russell Rickford, what started as an artistic expression performed by slaves turned into “a ritualized performance by White men in black face to burlesque the black” and “The image of the black man that grew out of the minstrel show...became confused with reality in the minds of many Americans” (30). The minstrel tradition, which also produced written plays, “was infamous for reinforcing demeaning stereotypes of African Americans—as comical, childlike, gullible, lazy, and in the words of Nathin Huggins... ‘insatiable in...bodily appetite”

(Rickford and Rickford 30).

As evidenced by the contrast between *The Help* and the minstrel tradition (only two examples of hundreds of years of literature), Black English in literature can have a very different effect on the public consciousness depending on the agenda of the author behind the work. The conflicting representations of Black English in literature have certainly led to the modern conflicting view of Black English as a whole. After all, literature plays a central role “in developing our experience of [a] language...[as] literary experience everywhere makes contact with everyday language use” (Crystal 413).

The Help, one of many novels that includes Black English and has achieved critical acclaim and commercial success in the past few decades, proves that Black English in literature has become more accepted over time. However, Black English as a spoken dialect is far from accepted—in fact, it is often vilified. In *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English*, John and Russell Rickford cite *Newsweek* to describe a 1996 poll on Ebonics in the magazine; the Ebonics poll elicited more responses than a poll asking people whether they thought O.J. Simpson was guilty or innocent (6). The responses included statements that Ebonics is “disgusting black street slang,” “incorrect and substandard,” “nothing more than ignorance,” “lazy English,” “bastardized English,” “the language of illiteracy,” and “this utmost ridiculous made-up language” (6). To understand how Black English came to be a subjugated dialect and its subsequent condemnation, one must acknowledge the fact that the history of black Americans begins with the racism inherent in slavery. Hundreds of years treating black Americans as inhuman and subordinate to Whites left a stain of racism on American consciousness that still influences the way many people view anything influenced by race, including Black English.

The History of Black English and Why It Is a Subjugated Dialect

As John and Russell Rickford eloquently summarize in *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English*, the story of how Black English came to be a subjugated language

is not an easy one to tell because it is not just about language. To tell the story right, you have to talk about the culture and lived experience of African Americans. You have to talk about a language inextricable from the complex social structure and political history of people of African descent in these United States. (ix-x)

The existence of Black English in America begins with the

arrival of slaves. African men and women were first brought to the United States in 1619; “by the time of the American Revolution (1776) their numbers had grown to half a million, and there were over 4 million by the time slavery was abolished, at the end of the US Civil War (1865)” (Crystal 96). When transporting slaves from Africa on ships, slave-traders purposefully brought together people who spoke different languages so that they could not communicate with each other or, more importantly, plot rebellion (Crystal 96). In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, David Crystal explains how this grouping of slaves who spoke different languages eventually led to

several pidgin forms of communication, and in particular, a pidgin between the slaves and sailors, many of whom spoke English. Once arrived in the Caribbean, this pidgin English continued to act as a major means of communication between the black population and the new landowners, and among the blacks themselves. Then, when their children were born, the pidgin gradually began to be used as a mother tongue, producing the first black creole speech in the region. It is this creole English which rapidly came to be used throughout the southern plantations... (96)

Scholars and linguists typically agree on the fact that Black English in America originates with the arrival of slaves; however, extreme contention abounds as to the history of Black English following the arrival of slaves in America. Disagreement revolves primarily around whether Black English “bears the vivid imprint of the African languages spoken by slaves who came to this country” or if “the devastating experience of slavery wiped out most if not all African linguistic and cultural traditions...and that the apparently distinctive features of [Black English] come from English dialects spoken by White (British) peasants and indentured servants whom Africans encountered in America” (Rickford and Rickford 129).

In *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English*, John and Russell Rickford conclude that African languages spoken by slaves and the English spoken by Whites in America have influenced Black English in its vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar (145-146). The vocabulary of Black English “is overwhelmingly English in origin...[but still includes] direct retentions or borrowings from African languages [and] translations into English of African compounds or concepts” (145-146). Pronunciation in Black English shows “mutual or convergent influence from British dialects and African languages” (149). Black English’s system of grammar “is essentially if not overwhelmingly English in its

word order and sentence structure...[but] the case can be made for African influence in several aspects of grammar of [Black English]” (152).

The contention among scholars and linguists as to the history of Black English and its development is a direct result of the fact that Black English was and is spoken by a people who were considered subordinate for hundreds of years in American history. Scholars and linguists did not document, track, and study Black English because they did not consider it a legitimate dialect. The lack of concrete evidence for the evolution of Black English and the current state of Black English as a subjugated dialect are directly caused by racism and the difficulty of eradicating it.

The Future of Black English: Is It On The Path to Convergence or Increasing Divergence?

The most recent controversy involving Black English concerns whether the dialect is on the path to diverging from or converging with White vernacular and Standard English. The divergence theory “suggests that the Great Migration of blacks to inner cities in the North and West in 1915 and after has led to increasing divergence between black and White vernaculars in the twentieth century, particularly since World War I” (Rickford and Rickford 157). William Labov and Wendell Harris, two linguists based in Philadelphia, first presented the divergence theory in the 1980s, when they began to notice that “the black population in that city had become increasingly segregated [from Whites] between 1850 and 1970...which was accompanied by increasing divergence of black and White vernaculars” (Rickford and Rickford 157-158).

Studies suggesting that segregation between black and White Americans, especially concerning financial health and whether they populate inner cities or suburbs, has increased after the 1960s (when federal legislation passed mandating integration) may seem backwards. However, evidence clearly supports this fact: according to the National Poverty Center (NPC) at the University of Michigan, “[the] poverty rate for blacks...greatly exceeds the national average. In 2010, 27.4 percent of blacks were poor...compared to 9.9 percent of Whites” (“Poverty in the United States...”). The divergence theory makes perfect sense when considering the fact that poverty disproportionately affects blacks and Whites; as long as the two races are separated by financial barriers and thus geographic location, their vernaculars will also diverge.

While “the twentieth century has witnessed the divergence of [Black English] from White vernaculars and Standard English in some respects, it has witnessed convergence with

these varieties in other respects” (Rickford and Rickford 160). In short, Black English, like any dialect, is not immune to influence from other forms of English; it continually undergoes a process of change, and some of that change is to absorb features of White vernacular and Standard English. However, as Black English has continued to persevere as a marker of identity for black Americans’ culture and history, it is highly unlikely that Standard English will ever eliminate or completely absorb the dialect.

Conclusion

Recognizing the legitimacy and wholeness of Black English as a dialect of Standard English does not mean encouraging older or teaching younger black Americans to shun Standard English. It simply means that all Americans need to recognize Black English as an integral part of American history, literature, society, and culture and eliminate racist views of Black English as lazy slang or illegitimate. As John and Russell Rickford so powerfully summarize in *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English*:

Suggesting that we abandon [Black English] and cleave only to Standard English is like proposing that we play only the White keys of a piano. The fact is that for many of our most beautiful melodies, we need both the White keys and the black...Bear in mind that language is an inescapable element in almost everyone’s daily life, and an integral element of human identity. If for that and no other reason, we would all do well to heed the still-evolving truth of the black language experience. (10)

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Jessie Abell majored in English with a concentration in professional writing. She graduated in December 2012 and is now pursuing a career as a free lance editor and writer. She would like to thank Dr. Daniel Mosser of the English department for inspiring to write this piece.

Campus Climate

Perceptions of Diversity Among Students at Virginia Tech

by Mark Managuio

The purpose of this paper is to identify current trends regarding student perceptions of diversity on campus. Comparisons of perceptions based on gender and race are also examined. Based on campus climate survey data (Profile of the College Student Experience), obtained in coordination with the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) and Student Voice, collected from students (N = 1,278) enrolled at a large, public, land-grant university situated in southwest Virginia, findings indicate an overall, satisfactory perception of diversity existing on campus. Results also suggest that while the university is supportive of individuals with diverse, ethnic backgrounds, the institution needs to play a more active and intentional role in facilitating an environment conducive to the learning and understanding of the different dimensions of diversity contained within its student population.

Section One

Introduction

The benefits of a diverse student body have been extensively studied by institutions of higher education. As colleges and universities begin to acknowledge the emerging diversity of their student populations, and in order to better realize these benefits, it is important that student perceptions of diversity are examined and analyzed. “A fairly recent body of research has emerged that has contributed to understanding the potential educational benefits of racial-ethnic diversity in 4-year colleges and universities” (Denson & Chang, 2009, pg. 323). “Most of this empirical work has focused on three distinct forms of racial diversity: structural diversity (student body racial composition), curricular/co-curricular diversity (programmatic efforts that expose students to content about race/ethnicity), and interaction diversity (informal student-student cross-racial contact)” (Denson & Chang, 2009, pg. 323).

Diversity has quickly pushed itself to the forefront of most academic institutions, due to the mounting evidence that the benefits of diversity have significant impacts on undergraduate education. Although the importance of diversity has been recognized, universities have failed to support diversity initiatives, due to their resistance for change. (Jr. & Martinez, 2002). This reluctance to change can be attributed to the fact that universities have not yet been able to successfully combine diversity with the educational goals of their schools (Jr. & Martinez, 2002).

As resistant to change as universities are in their approach to diversity policy, there is a current and much needed surge in diversity research and assessment (Jr. & Martinez, 2002). As faculty and administrators begin to understand the implications of diversity upon their own individual student bodies and campuses, it is becoming glaringly apparent that diversity research is limited. As such, many campuses have implemented research efforts, in order to ascertain patterns and trends that will then determine appropriate courses of action. This study will focus on one research methodology that has gained significant attention from universities, surveys, specifically the campus climate survey.

The purpose of campus climate investigations is to attempt to understand the various factors at work on a campus that possess the potential to influence student-student interactions. When administrators and faculty have a better understanding of the perceived campus climate, they can better inform current programs and departments, so

that necessary changes can be made to improve university offered services. The obvious problem which extends from this effort is the “oversimplification of a complex issue,” to which Chatman asserts that “what is needed to adequately examine an issue of this complexity is a research design that is sufficiently inclusive and comprehensive” (2010, pg. 8). The answer for most university administration relies heavily on the use of campus climate surveys.

Campus climate refers to the “formal and informal environment—both institutionally and community-based—in which individuals learn, teach, work and live in a post-secondary setting” (Eggert, 1994, pp. 52-53). As such, “if diversity is considered as a means to an end (e.g. building and promoting an inclusive community), then diversity is important to higher education because it challenges higher education to develop educational policies and teaching practices that promote a civic culture inclusive of diversity” (Jr. & Martinez, 2002, pg. 54).

Background

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) is a public, land grant, predominantly white university, located in southwest Virginia. The university has an on-campus population of roughly 29,000 students.

Details about Virginia Tech’s on-campus, undergraduate student population breakdown by race and gender are shown in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively. Details about Virginia Tech’s off-campus, undergraduate student population breakdown by race and gender are shown in Table 3 and Table 4, respectively. These statistics were taken from Virginia Tech’s website page, Factbook: Student Overview.

As demonstrated through Virginia Tech’s Principles of Community, the university is fully committed to the ideals of diversity and inclusion. In the creation of these principles by members of the Virginia Tech community, these statements articulate the university’s efforts in increasing inclusion on campus. Although all of the principles re-affirm the concept of diversity, the following principle arguably establishes Virginia Tech’s dedication the most: “We affirm the value of human diversity because it enriches our lives and the university. We acknowledge and respect our differences while affirming our common humanity” (Virginia Tech, 2005).

In order to better serve its underrepresented student population, the university has launched various programs and initiatives aimed at producing a more inclusive community at the university. Because actual results of

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diversity-oriented programs are dependent upon student perceptions of the topic, the university is heavily invested in researching diversity within its own institution. This study is an attempt at investigating this topic.

Broadly understood, for the purposes of this study, “diversity is used as a broad and encompassing term that includes awareness and appreciation for human differences such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental ability, age and so forth” (Luther, Seeberger, Phelan, & Simpson, 2011, pg. 16).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to analyze student perceptions of diversity on campus. Comparisons of perceptions based on race and gender are also included.

Research Questions

The following research questions are examined in this study:

What are student perceptions of diversity at Virginia Tech?

Do students’ perceptions of diversity at Virginia Tech differ by race (majority v. underrepresented status)?

Do students’ perceptions of diversity at Virginia Tech differ by gender?

Organization of the Study

The report is organized in four sections. The background and purpose of the study are addressed in the first section. Section Two describes the method used to select the sample and to collect and analyze the data. The results are reported in Section Three and the implications of the results are presented in the final section of the report.

Section Two

Methodology

This study utilized secondary analysis, drawing conclusions and interpretations from an already pre-existing data set, obtained from a survey conducted by the Higher Education Department, in conjunction with the National Association of Student Affairs Professionals (NASPA). This is Virginia Tech’s 3rd year participating in the survey, Profile of the College Student Experience.

Sample

The survey was sent out to a total potential sample of 7,059 Virginia Tech students. The same sampling strategy utilized for the 2008 and 2009 NASPA surveys was used to compile the sample. Stratified random sampling was used and the

sample was stratified by gender, ethnicity, and class level. In order to guarantee an adequate sample for the data analysis, underrepresented groups were oversampled. After Dr. Martha Glass, Associate Director of Administration for Assessment at Virginia Tech, obtained Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, the sample was created by Virginia Tech’s Office of Institutional Research & Effectiveness (OIRE), which pulled e-mail addresses from the undergraduate student population enrolled in spring 2012.

Of the potential sample invited to participate in the survey, there were 1,278 respondents, but only 959 completed surveys. This corresponds to a 13.5% response rate. Of the 959 completed surveys, the breakdown by class is as follows: 26% were freshmen, 25% were sophomores, 32% were juniors, and 17% were seniors. The breakdown by gender was 54% female and 46% male, while a large majority of the respondents (80%) were White. Table 5 outlines how well the sample population matched up with Virginia Tech’s total student population.

Instrumentation

The instrumentation used for this study was the Profile of the College Student Experience survey, established by NASPA, in partnership with Student Voice, a 3rd party organization dedicated to “collecting information from students that can be used to impact programs and services” (Campus Labs, 2001). The survey elicits information from participants in four major categories: (a) technology; (b) campus climate (diversity/campus safety); (c) civic engagement; and (d) student characteristics. Information from the campus climate, specifically diversity, as well as student characteristics categories were examined for the purposes of this study.

The diversity section covers a wide range of diversity-related issues, from student perceptions of diversity on campus to student perceptions of how supportive the university is of certain groups and classes of individuals. Through the use of Likert scale items, participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement with a series of statements, which include, “Virginia Tech is supportive of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds” and “I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn more about diversity-related issues”. Students are also asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following statements: “Virginia Tech is diverse” and “I personally add to the diversity of my campus”.

The student demographics section included questions regarding how participants identify themselves based on gender, race, and ethnicity. Participants were also asked to

indicate their origin of birth, as well as the origins of birth of parents and grandparents. Questions regarding religious affiliation and further follow-up questions regarding ethnicity were included as well. Questions include, “What is your biological sex?” “Were you born in a country other than the US?”

Data Collection

Student Voice handled data collection, as well as the actual distribution and administration of the surveys. After receiving IRB approval, the list of student e-mail addresses compiled by the OIRE was made available to Student Voice, who then sent out the e-mail containing both an explanation of and invitation to participate in the survey, as well as a link to access the survey. The initial e-mail was sent to the potential sample on February 27, 2012 and 3 reminder e-mails were sent out on the 5th, 12th, and 16th of March. A copy of the initial e-mail, as well as the 3 reminder e-mails can be found in Appendices L, M, N, and O respectively.

Data Analysis

Data obtained from the survey was coded according to gender and race. Comparisons were then made to determine if there were any significant differences among responses from male v. female and majority v. underrepresented. Chi-square analyses were used in these comparisons.

Section Three

Results

In order to gauge student perceptions of diversity, chi-square analysis was used to determine if any significant differences in responses existed between race and gender. General perceptions of diversity are also discussed in this section.

Perceptions of Diversity

Overall, the sample of students who participated in the study indicates a general level of agreement that Virginia Tech’s campus is diverse, while a smaller majority agrees that they contribute to the diversity of the university. The results of the survey are outlined in

Results show a large majority most students of respondents believe Virginia Tech to be supportive of international students, as well as students with diverse, ethnic backgrounds. 58.99% indicated that they strongly agreed with the statement regarding international students and 48.41% strongly agreed that the university is supportive of diverse ethnic individuals. The percentages of agreement for the statement, “I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn about diversity-related

issues” are less affirmative. When assessing the responses “Strongly agree” and “Somewhat agree” together, it is one of only two of the ten total statements that does not achieve a majority when combining these two response categories, only obtaining 28.38% of the respondents for that particular item. The other item being, “Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender,” which only receives 31.35% of the total, when combining the two responses indicating agreement.

Just as levels of agreement, whether “Strong” or “Somewhat”, tend to hold the majority of responses for most of the survey items, levels of disagreement, both “Strong” and “Somewhat” tend to be low. The only exception to this trend can be seen in the percentage for the “Somewhat disagree” response for the item pertaining to Virginia Tech supplied opportunities for diversity learning, which received 23.78% of the total. The same response received 10.38% for the statement, “Virginia Tech is accessible to people with physical disabilities”.

Results of Statistical Analysis

Differences by Gender. There were significant differences in responses based on gender for a number of the survey items. Table 7 outlines these particular items.

Findings suggest that females had higher percentages of agreement and lower percentages of disagreement for each survey item where a significant difference in response was found between genders. The inverse also holds true for males, holding lower percentages of agreement and higher percentages of disagreement for two of the four questions. However, there was little difference for the response “Neither agree nor disagree,” where males and females had similar percentages. It might be significant to note that males had higher percentages when responding with “No basis to judge”. In fact, the differences in percentages for this particular response are the largest differences in gender responses for all applicable survey items, suggesting that females may view the climate on campus as more accepting.

As each respective chi-square analysis test indicates, there is a significant difference in responses between males and females. As the p-values of each survey item are all smaller than the level of significance (0.05), they are all statistically significant results. The four survey items are outlined in better detail, with regards to the specific statistical analysis performed in Appendices A, B, C, and D.

Differences by Race. There were also significant differences in responses based on race as well. Tables 8 and 9 outline these particular items. It is important to note that for

statistical purposes, for some of the survey items, certain races had to be combined together. Had they not been combined, statistical analysis would not have been possible. Any instance of this combination is noted in its appropriate table.

Findings suggest that overall, among all races, there is a general acceptance of the statement, "Virginia Tech is diverse," with the exception of the Black/African American group which had 30.8% of its respondents answer "Strongly disagree" to the item. In response to the survey item, "I take advantage of the opportunities Virginia Tech provides to learn about diversity-related issues," similar to the results with gender, the majority within each race replied with "Neither agree nor disagree". The only exception to this trend was with, again, African Americans, 61.5% of which (combination of "Strongly agree" and "Somewhat agree") answered that they agree with the statement, at least on some level. The categories White and Multiracial had significant percentages amongst the "Somewhat disagree" answer choice for the particular survey item.

A large percentage of the underrepresented group (86.5%, a combination of "Strongly agree" and "Somewhat agree") responded positively to the item, "I personally add to the diversity of my campus," while the majority responded similarly, albeit, with less of a significant percentage (46.9%) when compared to the underrepresented group.

Inversely, the majority group had higher percentages in agreement with the statement, "Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer," compared to the underrepresented group. This trend persists, although not as strongly, for each following survey item.

As each respective chi-square analysis test indicates, there is a significant difference in responses between races. As the p-values of each survey item are all smaller than the level of significance (0.05), they are all statistically significant results. The seven survey items are outlined in better detail, with regards to the specific statistical analysis performed in Appendices E, F, G, H, I, J, and K.

Section Four

Discussion

Because the purpose of this study was to determine if any significant differences in student responses of diversity perceptions existed by race and gender, this section will discuss the implications of such differences for the university. Recommendations and limitations of the study will also be examined within this section.

In terms of results, it was found that there were more survey items with statistically significant differences for race than gender. It was also found that majority students had a more positive outlook of the university in terms of diversity, as compared to underrepresented participants, who still reported a positive outlook, just not as optimistically as majority students.

Many significant findings were made throughout the analysis of this survey, but the most surprising piece of information deals with university sponsored opportunities for diversity learning and whether or not students actively engage in these opportunities. As indicated in Section Three, the responses of the majority of both male v. female and underrepresented v. majority comparisons were found in the "Neither agree nor disagree" category. Underrepresented students and majority students alike all reported percentages consistently in the 25-35% range, while 21.4% of males even reported that they strongly disagreed with the statement, implying that they willingly chose to avoid these opportunities. Because of the phrasing of the statement, it can be safely assumed that students feel that there is an adequate amount of opportunities. Rather, it should be implied that they simply choose not to pursue them.

Based on the findings, it would appear that the incentives for embracing these diversity oriented opportunities are ineffective at appealing to a majority of Virginia Tech's student body. At this point, it becomes a matter of relevance. How does one make accepting diversity relevant enough to students, so that it will stick? The answer has long eluded higher education institutions, but I believe the answer lies in developing the relevance of diversity, both in teaching and application.

The difficulty in this however, lies in the fact that unless the university lays out and adheres to its own specific definition of diversity, students will not be able to make any significant strides toward embracing it. Understandably, each and every individual has a preconceived notion of diversity that comes to mind when it is mentioned. Thus, diversity is certainly not a new topic in the slightest. The problem arises from these many interpretations of diversity. For example, an underrepresented student involved in a cultural, student organization on campus might view spending time with individuals of similar ethnic backgrounds as a means of support and solidarity. At the same time, a majority student may view the same action as self-inflicted segregation or an unwillingness to interact with others of differing backgrounds. This is where the trouble originates and it is here that the university must start its battle to make diversity

a more worthwhile concept to its students.

In articulating a firm definition of diversity, the university allows for its students to come together and interact on the same page. If the goal of diversity initiatives on campus is to enhance cross-racial/ethnic interactions, students need to be able to communicate on some common ground.

In furthering this argument concerning pinning down exactly what diversity means, the findings also suggest that many students are already on the right path. 12.9% and 34.0% of the majority group strongly and somewhat agree, respectively, that they personally add value to the Virginia Tech campus. This finding is significant in pointing out that students seem to be cognizant of the many working dimensions and applications of diversity. Diversity is not simply a black and white issue, although there are still many that have accepted this as their personal meaning of diversity. Diversity has developed to include gender, race, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and much more, so to observe that nearly half of the majority students who participated in this study agree with this statement on some level is encouraging. Part of getting the student body to embrace diversity is educating them on what is and is not considered to be a facet of diversity. Articulating a specific definition is a part of this, as well as emphasizing cross-racial/ethnic interaction.

The results also indicate a greater percentage of majority students reporting their belief that Virginia Tech is supportive of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds than with underrepresented students. The same trend persists for the survey items concerning international students and whether or not Virginia Tech is diverse. 52.6% of majority students, as compared to 34.6% of underrepresented students, strongly agree that the university is supportive of those from diverse backgrounds, while 63.4% of majority students, as compared to 43.7% of underrepresented students, strongly agree that the university is supportive of its international students. This might simply stem from the logistics of the university. Virginia Tech is a predominantly white university and it is common for majority students to go their entire lives without interacting with more diverse individuals until they enroll in college. Perhaps the reason that the percentage for majority students was higher in both instances is because, in some cases, this may mark any significant, first-time interactions with diverse individuals. So naturally, majority students will be more prone than underrepresented students to report that the university is diverse and not only that, but supportive of its diverse student population.

Limitations

As with any study, there are limitations to this particular investigation. Some limitations had to do with the sample and respondents of the survey. Although it was addressed in the construction of the study by oversampling underrepresented students, there were still far more majority students than underrepresented students in the final count for total survey respondents. Thus, it cannot be concluded that the differences observed between races was solely because of race as a factor. The large amount of majority students compared to the limited number of underrepresented students may have influenced the chi-square tests performed to assess race.

In addition, because of the requirements of the statistical analysis used, racial groups had to be combined to form a more generalized minority group. In doing so, the opportunity for exploring any significant differences between these racial groups had to be abandoned.

Recommendations

As mentioned before, I would advise the university to begin by explicitly defining diversity for its own purposes and goals. Second, the university needs to continue and push for diversity education, through curriculum, workshops, and seminars. In order to make diversity more relevant for students, the university should encourage and recognize those that strive to enhance cross-racial/ethnic interactions, both student and faculty alike.

Similarly, further studies should be conducted to investigate these same diversity issues, preferably long-term, longitudinal studies. Studies should also be done to address questions arising from this present study, as well as to assess the reliability, validity, and practical application potential of the results obtained. In conducting these future studies, it would be beneficial to make note of when diversity perceptions change, so that programs and services can target these times to reflect these changing perceptions.

Lastly, as a recommendation, faculty should also be educated and trained in how to better accommodate such a large and diverse student body. Workshops and seminars geared specifically toward administrators and faculty may also benefit the university in the long term.

Conclusion

In conclusion, perceptions of diversity at Virginia Tech, as indicated by this study, are generally positive, for underrepresented and majority students alike. Working off of the data obtained from this study, Virginia Tech and the Division of Student Affairs can strive towards applying

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programs in order to foster awareness and acceptance of diversity on campus, as well as enhancing relations and interactions amongst underrepresented and majority students.

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Tables*Table 1*

2011-2012 On-campus Enrollment Profile: Enrollment by Race

Race	Undergraduate	Graduate
American Indian or Alaska Native	57	5
Asian	1,918	157
Black or African American	875	158
Hispanics of any race	1,030	98
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	15	0
White	17,709	2,513
Two or more races	612	45
Not reported	816	33
Nonresident alien	615	1,164
Total	23,647	4,623

Table 2

2011-2012 On-campus Enrollment Profile: Enrollment by Gender

Gender	Undergraduate	Graduate
Male	13,762	2,782
Female	9,876	1,841
Not reported	9	0
Total	23,647	4,623

Table 3

2011-2012 Off-campus Enrollment Profile: Enrollment by Race

Race	Undergraduate	Graduate
American Indian or Alaska Native	0	4
Asian	3	153
Black or African American	4	224
Hispanics of any race	5	68
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0	3
White	32	1,535
Two or more races	0	33
Not reported	8	77
Nonresident alien	1	136
Total	53	2,233

Table 4

2011-2012 Off-campus Enrollment Profile: Enrollment by Gender

Gender	Undergraduate	Graduate
Male	26	1,224
Female	27	1,002
Total	53	2,226

Table 5

Survey Sample and Virginia Tech Student Population Comparison

Demographic Characteristic	Survey Participants (in percent)	Virginia Tech Student Population (in percent)
Race		
Underrepresented	18.0***	16.0
Majority	80.0	72.0
Gender		
Male	46.0	57.8
Female	54.0	42.2

***The figure for multiracial students was included in the underrepresented statistic

Table 6

Perceptions of Diversity: Student Responses

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:	Strongly agree %	Some-what agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Some-what disagree %	Strongly disagree %	No basis to judge %
Virginia Tech is diverse.	30.96	44.66	9.09	12.38	2.90	n/a
I personally add to the diversity of my campus.	21.05	32.37	27.11	12.89	6.58	n/a
I take advantage of the opportunities that Virginia Tech provides to learn more about diversity-related issues.	10.25	18.13	33.38	23.78	14.45	n/a
Virginia Tech is accessible to people with physical disabilities.	29.17	39.03	10.91	10.38	2.37	8.15
Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer.	26.12	31.79	19.92	4.35	0.79	17.02
Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender.	16.14	15.21	31.88	4.5	2.12	30.16
Virginia Tech is supportive of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds.	48.41	33.47	8.73	1.98	0.79	6.61
Virginia Tech is supportive of international students.	58.99	26.98	5.69	1.32	0.79	6.22
Virginia Tech is supportive of students with non-physical disabilities.	32.67	26.59	17.20	1.98	0.93	20.63
Virginia Tech is supportive of people with psychological disabilities.	24.41	23.75	22.82	4.75	2.64	21.64

Table 7

Perceptions of Diversity: Gender Comparison

	Strongly agree %		Somewhat agree %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:				
I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn about diversity-related issues.	8.7	11.7	11.5	21.9
Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender.	14.4	16.8	13.8	16.0
Virginia Tech is supportive of students with non-physical disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities, Attention Deficit Disorder).	28.8	35.6	24.1	27.8
Virginia Tech is supportive of people with psychological disabilities (e.g., anxiety disorders, mood disorders, depression, bipolar disorder).	21.5	26.8	21.8	26.5

Neither agree nor disagree %		Somewhat disagree %		Strongly disagree %		No basis to judge %	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
33.5	34.9	24.9	23.5	21.4	8.0	n/a	n/a
30.9	33.4	2.8	5.9	2.5	1.3	35.6	26.5
18.8	16.0	1.6	2.4	0.6	1.1	26.0	17.1
22.4	22.5	5.3	4.6	1.9	2.9	27.1	16.6

Table 8

Perceptions of Diversity: Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:	Strongly agree %					
	A/PI	B/AA	L / ME / NA	W	M	A/PI
Virginia Tech is diverse.	17.0	11.5	22.6	32.9	12.0	55.3
I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn about diversity-related issues.	27.7	19.2	15.8	8.1	8.0	21.3

A/PI – Asian/Pacific Islander

B/AA – Black/African American

L/ME/NA – Latino/Middle Eastern/Native American

W – White

M – Multiracial

Table 9

Perceptions of Diversity: Race Comparison (continued)***

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:	Strongly agree %		Somewhat agree %		Neither agree
	Underrepresented	Majority	Underrepresented	Majority	Underrepresented
I personally add to the diversity of my campus.	56.7	12.9	29.8	34.0	10.6
Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer.	16.3	28.6	34.6	32.2	25.0
Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender.	10.6	16.7	17.3	15.6	35.6
Virginia Tech is supportive of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds	34.6	52.6	40.4	31.5	8.7
Virginia Tech is supportive of international students.	43.7	63.4	35.0	24.6	7.8

***Underrepresented group includes Asian/Pacific Islander, Black/African American, Latino, Middle Eastern, Native American

Somewhat agree %				Neither agree nor disagree %				
B/AA	L / M E / NA	W	M	A/PI	B/AA	L / M E / NA	W	M
30.8	41.9	46.3	52.0	6.4	7.7	9.7	8.4	16.0
42.3	18.4	16.1	8.0	34.0	19.2	39.5	34.3	36.0

Somewhat disagree %					Strongly disagree %				
19.1	19.2	16.1	11.0	16.0	2.1	30.8	9.7	1.4	4.0
8.5	15.4	15.8	26.3	32.0	8.5	3.8	10.5	15.2	16.0

Neither agree nor disagree %	Somewhat disagree %		Strongly disagree %		No basis to judge %	
Majority	Underrepresented	Majority	Underrepresented	Majority	Underrepresented	Majority
29.9	1.9	15.7	1.0	7.5	n/a	n/a
17.0	3.8	4.3	3.8	0.2	16.3	17.7
30.8	5.8	4.1	5.8	0.9	25.0	31.8
7.9	6.7	1.1	2.9	0.5	6.7	6.3
4.8	4.8	0.5	1.9	0.5	6.7	6.1

, while Majority signifies White.

Appendix A

Gender Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn about diversity-related issues.

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	697	100.0%	0	.0%	697	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation								
Count								
		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	63	60	125	22	5	99	374
	2	46	44	99	9	8	114	320
Total		109	104	224	31	13	213	694

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.197a	5	.048
Likelihood Ratio	11.332	5	.045
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.891	1	.015
N of Valid Cases	694		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 33.26.

Appendix B*Gender Comparison*

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	694	100.0%	0	.0%	694	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

	1						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1 1	63	60	125	22	5	99	374
2	46	44	99	9	8	114	320
Total	109	104	224	31	13	213	694

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.197 ^a	5	.048
Likelihood Ratio	11.332	5	.045
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.891	1	.015
N of Valid Cases	694		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.99.

Appendix C

Gender Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of students with non-physical disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities, Attention Deficit Disorder).

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	693	100.0%	0	.0%	693	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	133	104	60	9	4	64	374
	2	92	77	60	5	2	83	319
Total		225	181	120	14	6	147	693

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.471 ^a	5	.043
Likelihood Ratio	11.487	5	.043
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.790	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	693		

a. 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.76.

Appendix D*Gender Comparison*

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of people with psychological disabilities (e.g., anxiety disorders, mood disorders, depression, bipolar disorder).

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	694	100.0%	0	.0%	694	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1					Total	
		1	2	3	4	5		6
1	1	100	99	84	17	11	62	373
	2	69	70	72	17	6	87	321
Total		169	169	156	34	17	149	694

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.430 ^a	5	.020
Likelihood Ratio	13.451	5	.020
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.764	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	694		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.86.

Appendix E

Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is diverse.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	686	100.0%	0	.0%	686	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
1	1	8	26	3	9	1	47
	2	3	8	2	5	8	26
	3	7	13	3	5	3	31
	4	183	258	47	61	8	557
	5	3	13	4	4	1	25
Total		204	318	59	84	21	686

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	93.820 ^a	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	52.202	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.218	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	686		

a. 11 cells (44.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .77.

Appendix F*Race Comparison*

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - I personally add to the diversity of my campus.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	688	100.0%	0	.0%	688	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count		1					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
1	1	59	31	11	2	1	104
	2	72	190	167	88	42	559
	3	9	9	4	1	2	25
Total		140	230	182	91	45	688

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	120.078 ^a	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	111.511	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	46.039	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	688		

a. 2 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.64.

Appendix G

Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - I take advantage of the opportunities provided by Virginia Tech to learn about diversity-related issues.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	695	100.0%	0	.0%	695	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
1	1	13	10	16	4	4	47
	2	5	11	5	4	1	26
	3	6	7	15	6	4	38
	4	45	90	192	147	85	559
	5	2	2	9	8	4	25
Total		71	120	237	169	98	695

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	45.747 ^a	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.540	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	30.068	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	695		

a. 8 cells (32.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.55.

Appendix H*Race Comparison*

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	663	100.0%	0	.0%	663	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	17	36	26	4	4	17	104
	2	160	180	95	24	1	99	559
Total		177	216	121	28	5	116	663

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.958 ^a	5	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.876	5	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.836	1	.175
N of Valid Cases	663		

3 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .78.

Appendix I

Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of people who identify as transgender.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	660	100.0%	0	.0%	660	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	11	18	37	6	6	26	104
	2	93	87	171	23	5	177	556
Total		104	105	208	29	11	203	660

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.230 ^a	5	.004
Likelihood Ratio	13.732	5	.017
Linear-by-Linear Association	.006	1	.939
N of Valid Cases	660		

2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.73.

Appendix J

Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of people with diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	659	100.0%	0	.0%	659	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	36	42	9	7	3	7	104
	2	292	175	44	6	3	35	555
Total		328	217	53	13	6	42	659

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.325 ^a	5	.000
Likelihood Ratio	22.068	5	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.507	1	.006
N of Valid Cases	659		

a. 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .95.

Appendix K

Race Comparison

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: - Virginia Tech is supportive of international students.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1 * 1	660	100.0%	0	.0%	660	100.0%

1 * 1 Crosstabulation

Count

		1						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	1	45	36	8	5	2	7	103
	2	353	137	27	3	3	34	557
Total		398	173	35	8	5	41	660

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.223 ^a	5	.000
Likelihood Ratio	21.403	5	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.448	1	.006
N of Valid Cases	660		

a. 3 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .78.

Appendix L

Initial Survey Invitation E-mail

Dear VT Student,

You have been randomly selected by Virginia Tech to complete a survey about topics that are relevant to you and your peers. This national survey of college students will provide Virginia Tech with information on your college experiences. Data collected from this project will be used by administrators to make informed decisions about programming and/or policies that can impact you and your peers.

This study involves completing an online questionnaire that focuses on the topics of civic engagement, use of technology and social media, student characteristics and demographics, and perceptions of campus climate and campus safety. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, such that refusal to participate will not involve penalty or loss of benefits. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Completion of the survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes. Please note that all of your responses will be kept completely confidential and all resulting data will only be reported only in the aggregate. By clicking on the link below you are indicating your willingness to participate in the survey.

{INSTRUCTIONS}

Please note that if you cannot complete the survey in one sitting you can pick up where you left off previously by clicking on the link above. As such, please refrain from deleting this email until you have completed the survey.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

If you have further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Dr. Martha Glass, Associate Director for Assessment, Division of Student Affairs, Virginia Tech, dsaaskyou@vt.edu.

Appendix M

1st Reminder Survey E-mail

Dear VT Student,

You have been randomly selected by Virginia Tech to complete a survey about topics that are relevant to you and your peers. This national survey of college students will

provide Virginia Tech with information on your college experiences. Data collected from this project will be used by administrators to make informed decisions about programming and/or policies that can impact you and your peers.

This study involves completing an online questionnaire that focuses on the topics of civic engagement, use of technology and social media, student characteristics and demographics, and perceptions of campus climate and campus safety. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, such that refusal to participate will not involve penalty or loss of benefits. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Completion of the survey will take approximately 10 - 15 minutes. Please note that all of your responses will be kept completely confidential and all resulting data will only be reported only in the aggregate. By clicking on the link below you are indicating your willingness to participate in the survey.

{INSTRUCTIONS}

Please note that if you cannot complete the survey in one sitting you can pick up where you left off previously by clicking on the link above. As such, please refrain from deleting this email until you have completed the survey.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

If you have further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Dr. Martha Glass, Associate Director for Assessment, Division of Student Affairs, Virginia Tech, dsaaskyou@vt.edu.

Appendix N

2nd Reminder Survey E-mail

Dear VT Student,

This is a reminder to please participate in this important study. This survey will close on March 18th, 2012.

You have been randomly selected by Virginia Tech to complete a survey about topics that are relevant to you and your peers. This national survey of college students will provide Virginia Tech with information on your college experiences. Data collected from this project will be used by administrators to make informed decisions about programming and/or policies that can impact you and your

Research Articles

peers.

This study involves completing an online questionnaire that focuses on the topics of civic engagement, use of technology and social media, student characteristics and demographics, and perceptions of campus climate and campus safety. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, such that refusal to participate will not involve penalty or loss of benefits. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Completion of the survey will take approximately 10 - 15 minutes. Please note that all of your responses will be kept completely confidential and all resulting data will only be reported only in the aggregate. By clicking on the link below you are indicating your willingness to participate in the survey.

{INSTRUCTIONS}

Please note that if you cannot complete the survey in one sitting you can pick up where you left off previously by clicking on the link above. As such, please refrain from deleting this email until you have completed the survey.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

If you have further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Dr. Martha Glass, Associate Director for Assessment, Division of Student Affairs, Virginia Tech, dsaaskyou@vt.edu.

Appendix O

Final Reminder Survey E-mail

Dear VT Student,

This is a final reminder to please participate in this important study. This survey will close on Sunday, March 18th, 2012 at midnight. Thank you for your time.

You have been randomly selected by Virginia Tech to complete a survey about topics that are relevant to you and your peers. This national survey of college students will provide Virginia Tech with information on your college experiences. Data collected from this project will be used by administrators to make informed decisions about programming and/or policies that can impact you and your peers.

This study involves completing an online questionnaire that focuses on the topics of civic engagement, use of technology and social media, student characteristics and demographics, and perceptions of campus climate and campus safety. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, such that refusal to participate will not involve penalty or loss of benefits. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Completion of the survey will take approximately 10 - 15 minutes. Please note that all of your responses will be kept completely confidential and all resulting data will only be reported only in the aggregate. By clicking on the link below you are indicating your willingness to participate in the survey.

{INSTRUCTIONS}

Please note that if you cannot complete the survey in one sitting you can pick up where you left off previously by clicking on the link above. As such, please refrain from deleting this email until you have completed the survey.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

If you have further questions or concerns about this study, you may contact Dr. Martha Glass, Associate Director for Assessment, Division of Student Affairs, Virginia Tech, dsaaskyou@vt.edu.



Mark Managuio is pursuing dual degrees in political science with a legal studies concentration and sociology. He is graduating in May 2013 and plans to attend graduate school for higher education administration. He would like to thank **Dr. Martha Glass**, associate director of administration for assessment, **Dr. William Lewis**, vice president of diversity and inclusion, **C. Ray Williams**, director of Multicultural Programs and Services, those from the McNair Scholars Program, and the Undergraduate Research Institute.

Embodied Resistance

by Katelynn Barham

This research examines how participation in all-female flat track roller derby leagues constitutes a form of embodied resistance against cultural norms regarding femininity. Throughout history, sports have enforced and perpetuated gender norms by constructing certain activities as either masculine or feminine and through their dictation of what the ideal and socially acceptable female and male bodies should look like. Women who participate in roller derbies have rebelled against these norms by opting for an aggressive and violent sport where different body sizes are accepted. Flat-track roller derby provides a space for women to challenge long-held beliefs about femininity and female roller derby league members use their bodies as the sites of this resistance. Roller derby has broadened the definition of what an athletic female body looks like, allows women to transgress gendered attire norms, and praises the acquirement of bumps, breaks, and bruises. Using the data from online and scholarly sources, as well as media portrayals of roller derby in popular culture, I argue that this unconventional sport created by and for women serves as a strong act of embodied resistance. I also critically examine class, gender, and race issues in the context of roller derby.

Early in life, a person is socialized to adhere to socially constructed gender norms regarding what it means to be “feminine” or “masculine,” many of which have to do with the body and the way in which it should be both maintained and presented. These norms permeate every aspect of life, and the world of sports is no exception. Historically, sports have reinforced and perpetuated the current gender system by constructing activities as either feminine or masculine and by dictating what women’s and men’s bodies should look like. However, women who participate in flat-track roller derby have rebelled against these norms by opting for an aggressive contact sport where “fat bodies are accepted as readily as slim bodies” and where bruises and broken bones are considered to be a form of “cultural capital.”¹ All-female flat-track roller derby leagues provide women with a space to challenge long-held beliefs about femininity, with the bodies of female roller derby league members being used as the sites of this resistance. This is done through broadening the definition of a female sporting body, the transgression of “attire and adornment norms,” and the praising of the “accumulation of bruises and breaks.”² In this paper, we examine the embodied transgression of the roller derby. While certain aspects of this resistance need more critical feminist eyes, such as in regards to the sexualization of roller derby and rules regarding participation, this paper shows that it still successfully registers protest against traditional gender norms. The following section contextualizes roller derby by providing a brief history of the sport. Next, we will examine the transformation of the roller derby to an all-women’s event after its 21st century rebirth. Our focus will then shift to the portrayal of roller derby through the various media outlets. Finally, we will highlight both the ways in which women’s flat-track roller derby constitutes an embodied resistance and the potential limitations of the sport as a challenge to the status quo.

The Origin of Roller Derby

Roller derby in its contemporary form first appeared on the sports scene in the mid-1930’s after Leo Seltzer created the Transcontinental Roller Derby.³ Prior to becoming an all-female sport in the early 21st century, this spectacle originally began as a marathon, which pitted teams composed of a man and a woman skating together in a race across the country.⁴ Later, to make the game more attractive to fans, Seltzer changed the rules to transform roller derby into a contact sport played on a wooden banked track with scripted storylines and theatrical

elements similar to those of modern-day professional wrestling. A sportswriter by the name of Damon Runyon assisted Seltzer in developing the sport “where teams with five skaters each would compete against each other incorporating body contact in order to score points and play defense,” thereby laying the foundation of the team sport as it exists today.⁵ Roller derby gained widespread attention after it debuted on television in 1948, facilitating larger live audiences and the creation of competing roller derby franchises.⁶ However, the sport’s popularity eventually began to dwindle and the Seltzer family finally decided to shut down the original Roller Derby in 1973 for reasons unbeknownst to both fans and participants.⁷ While the scripted story lines and theatrics of this original form of roller derby set it apart from the all-women’s leagues of today, the sport still played a significant role in women’s lives at the time. Female athletes, such as Hall-of-Fame skater An Calvello, were provided with an arena in which they could redefine what it meant to be both a female and an athlete.⁸

The Revival of Roller Derby

Despite efforts to bring back roller derby in the 1980’s and 1990’s, it was not until amateur women’s flat-track roller derby leagues became increasingly present and popular that the sport was revived. This resurgence began in the 2000’s in Austin, Texas, and has allowed roller derby to become the fastest-growing sport in the United States, beginning with 60 leagues in 2005, 120 in 2006, and over 200 in 2007.⁹ However, the wooden banked tracks of the past have disappeared along with all of the choreographed theatrics. The flat-track version of the sport has made it possible to play anywhere and has embodied the do-it-yourself, punk rock nature of women’s roller derby. As of 2010, there were more than 450 flat-track leagues worldwide.¹⁰ Women’s flat-track roller derby has also become less of a spectacle and more of a legitimate sport, which is evident through the way the leagues are now overseen by the Women’s Flat Track Derby Association. The WFTDA “sets standards, rules, seasons, and safety, and determines guidelines and international athletic competitions” for the 133 member leagues.¹¹ Among other things, players are required to don all necessary protective equipment (helmets, elbow pads, wrist guards and knee guards)

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. *Women’s Flat Track Derby Association*. Spellen Media, 2009. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

8. *Roller Derby Foundation*. Roller Derby Foundation, n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

9. Neale, Rick. “All-Female Roller Derby Elbows its Way in as a Legitimate Sport.” *USA Today*. Gannett Co. Inc., June 2008. Web. 25 Feb. 2012.

10. *Women’s Flat Track Derby Association*. Spellen Media, 2009. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

11. Ibid.

1. Peluso, Natalie M. “Cruising for a Bruising: Women’s Flat Track Roller Derby.” *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*. Ed. Chris Bobel, Samantha Kwan. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011. 37-47. Print.

2. Ibid., 42-44.

3. *Roller Derby Foundation*. Roller Derby Foundation, n.d. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

4. Ibid.



Photo courtesy of Creative Commons

and are prohibited from elbowing, punching, grabbing, head-butting, tripping, or shoving opponents.¹² Because of these rules, the skaters consider themselves real athletes who both train hard and hit hard.¹³

Roller Derby in the Media

The revival of roller derby has gained widespread attention, partly thanks to media representations, including television, film, and print. MTV aired an episode of its popular documentary show, *True Life*, following the lives of various people who described themselves as jealous of their siblings.¹⁴ Two of the subjects, Savannah and Melanie, were members of a women's roller derby league. The episode focused on Melanie, who had always been envious of her younger sister, Savannah, because of her good looks and outgoing personality. However, the roller derby track

12. *Women's Flat Track Derby Association*. Spellen Media, 2009. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *True Life*. MTV. Viacom International Inc., n.d. Web. 26 Feb. 2012.

is depicted as the one place where Melanie feels equally accepted despite the fact that she does not adhere to traditional beauty standards regarding body size. Probably the most often-cited source of roller derby is the popular film "Whip It!", a romantic comedy and coming-of-age story about a teenage girl from Texas who finds a place to call home at the derby.¹⁵ This film, while lacking some factual legitimacy about how the sport is played, emphasizes the most fundamental components of roller derby: camaraderie, sisterhood, and true athleticism.

Unlike *Whip It!*, the documentary film *Blood on the Flat Track* is a true story that depicts the formative years of the Rat City Rollergirls, a women's flat-track league based in Seattle.¹⁶ One of the documentary's central characters is a woman nicknamed "Hot Flash" who competes in the roller derby well into her fifties.¹⁷ As an active member of the Seattle roller derby league, Hot Flash defies societal norms regarding not only athleticism, sexism, and femininity, but ageism as well. In addition to this acceptance of aging bodies, larger bodies are also accepted as a norm. In fact, women of all body shapes and sizes are invited to participate; larger girls are preferred because the greater height and width give a team many advantages with blocking and knocking over the opponent. The roller derby also challenges traditional images of motherhood. Many women who participate in the league are mothers. In contrast with traditional expectations regarding maternity, these mother-players are not afraid to be highly sexualized and act with much aggression, thereby challenging the Madonna-whore complex. Finally, one can draw many parallels between roller derby and the Gothic subculture as they both share a unique expression of sexuality. For the Goths, it is a juncture of sexuality without promiscuity, while roller girls combine sexuality with masculine traits of aggression and athleticism.¹⁸ Consequently, both of these movements resist mainstream femininity.

Newspaper articles and other writings about women's flat-track roller derby are purely editorial pieces that tend to create a spectacle out of the sport. Their main purpose is advertising for upcoming bouts and to introduce a certain community to the roller derby. While some may dismiss these writings, it can be argued that when critically examined, they provide a very interesting glimpse at the public perception of the derby. These articles are consistently written from a gendered perspective and

15. *Whip It!* Dir. Drew Barrymore. Perf. Ellen Page, Drew Barrymore, Kristen Wiig. Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2009. DVD.

16. *Blood on the Flat Track: Rise of the Rat City Rollergirls*. Dir. Lainy Bagwell and Lacey Leavitt. 2007.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Wilkins, Amy C. "So Full of Myself as a Chick: Goth Women, Sexual Independence, and Gender Egalitarianism." *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*. Ed. Rose Weitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 163-176. Print.

tell more of the fascinatingly “unfeminine” women and the show that they put on rather than the sport itself or what roller derby means to those who participate. There is an occupation with the “double life” that these derby girls seem to lead, emphasizing how the women are everyday mothers, teachers, librarians, and lawyers and how they are derived from hegemonic femininity; their aggression is written off as another portion of the spectacle of roller derby.

The Roller Derby as a Gendered Sport and Embodied Resistance

The revival of the roller derby and the formation of the all-women’s flat-track derby are a little over ten years old. With its early foundations in 2001, the popular attention paid to this fairly new phenomenon is quite alarming. However, compared with the writings on men’s sports and women’s non-contact sports, the amount of literature written about the roller derby can be seen as somewhat limited. The scholarly writings on this subject have been interdisciplinary in the areas of feminist studies and the sociology of sports.

The scholarly writings on this topic, however, pick up on the major themes and issues surrounding roller derby. Nancy J. Finley analyzes the unparalleled blend of masculinity and femininity portrayed by derby girls. She describes this blend as “gender maneuvering” where the women cross back and forth between femininity and masculinity through the way in which they dress and act.¹⁹ It is important that these women keep a feminine appearance, however, even if it is an overt mockery of mainstream feminism, in order to contrast the aggression and athleticism of masculinity and to create a form of “alternative femininity.”²⁰

According to Natalie M. Peluso, body adornment and modification are also important aspects to the embodied resistance carried out by the roller girls. The women believe that flat-track derby provides them with an arena in which they can express themselves freely, whether that is through getting facial piercings or dyeing their hair blue, without fear of judgment. In addition, it is common for “new members of the roller derby sporting subculture to begin getting tattooed when they join the league.”²¹ The way in which the women’s flat-track roller derby participants decide how they wish to decorate their bodies illustrates their empowerment and resistance.

19. Finley, Nancy J. "Skating Femininity: Gender Maneuvering in Women's Roller Derby." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 39.4 (2010): 359-87. Print.

20. Ibid.

21. Peluso, Natalie M. "Cruising for a Bruising: Women's Flat Track Roller Derby." *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*. Ed. Chris Bobel, Samantha Kwan. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011. 37-47. Print.

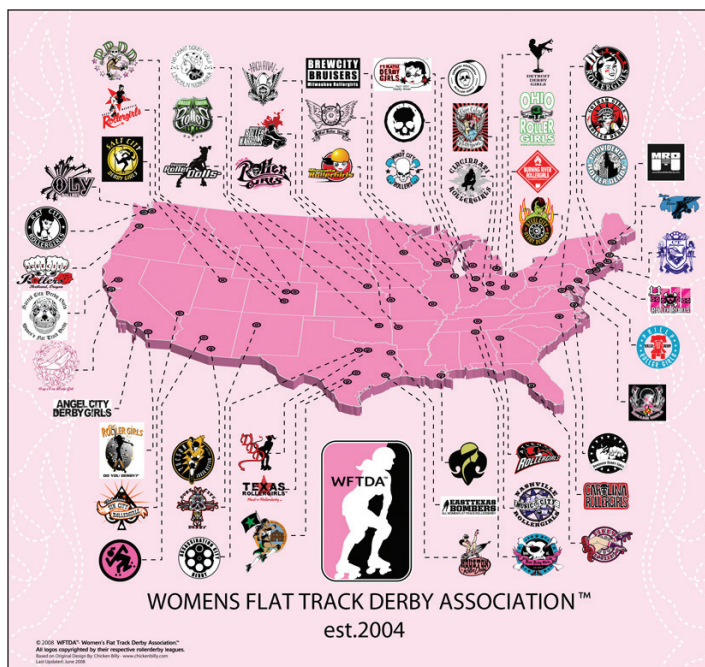


Figure 1. Courtesy of the Women’s Flat Track Derby Association

Travis D. Beaver addresses the “Do-It-Yourself” (DIY) nature of the roller derby in “By the Skaters, for the Skaters.” In this article, Beaver analyzes the singularity of the sport in contrast to the mainstream. Roller derby is perhaps the only case in which the sport is controlled entirely by women. It is a challenge to the entire institution of sports and the hegemonic control that men hold over the industry.²² Analyzing roller derby from a sport’s studies perspective is actually very prominent in this discourse.

Joseph Boyle also examines roller derby and other women’s sports in contrast to men’s. The power of the hegemonic norms that roller girls face is most salient when one considers the vast gender divide between participation in sports in general and participation in contact sports.²³ Figure I illustrates these norms in action as it reports that a far greater number of men participate in contact sports when compared to women.²⁴

Lastly, there is much discourse throughout the literature on women’s roller derby regarding the theoretical feminist basis of the movement. The majority of scholarly articles that included participant interviews addressed the issue of where these roller girls identified themselves within the feminist movement. Many of the women reported that they did not consider themselves feminists. While the characteristics surrounding the roller derby, such as the incorporation of both beauty and power, are

22. Beaver, Travis D. "By the Skaters, for the Skaters: The DIY Ethos of the Roller Derby Revival." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* (2012). Print.

23. Boyle, Joseph E. *Organized Sports Participation, Masculinity, and Attitudes Toward Women*. Thesis. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1997. Print.

24. Ibid.

seemingly third wave, the fact that a majority of women did not identify with feminism leads one to believe that most roller girls fall into the post-feminist movement.²⁵ All of these literary works and findings were incorporated into our research and were essential to our understanding of the roller derby as a form of women's embodied resistance.

Our research of various forms of literature, documentaries, and film representations reveals that roller derby is a form of embodied resistance. Roller derby is a method for women to disengage with societal norms of their bodies and behavior. This sport refutes the idea of a strict gender binary and instead argues for a gender spectrum; whether it is exhibiting the characteristics of masculine aggression or mocking hyper-femininity with sexual freedom, these women do not prescribe to either notions of gender. In fact, we argue that roller derby is not only a method for women to resist societal norms about their bodies through athleticism and aggression, but also a system to promote many other forms of embodied resistance.

Critical Issues

While women's flat-track roller derby constitutes a strong resistance against gender norms, there are various drawbacks which could potentially threaten its ability to effectively register protest. The first issue with women's roller derby is the topic of inclusivity. While the sport is depicted as an equal-opportunity place where everyone is able to fit in, there is some evidence contrary to this assertion. Roller derby is fairly expensive to participate in and therefore class inequalities, as well as racial and ethnic inequalities, come into play. Players are required to purchase costly equipment, such as roller skates and protective equipment, in addition to health insurance and monthly dues for league membership.²⁶ Equipment expenses alone can range from \$150 to over \$500, thereby limiting the ability of many women to participate.²⁷

Second, rigid adherence to biological female sex is another element that has become problematic in women's flat-track roller derby. Recently, the Women's Flat Track Derby Association implemented a new gender policy that set regulations for the eligibility of transgender athletes. This policy states that male athletes and those born female or Intersex who identify as men

are unable to participate.²⁸ Transgender or Intersex athletes who "meet the definition of female" are deemed eligible, however, they must be able to provide proof from a healthcare provider.²⁹ The statement from the healthcare provider must include information verifying that the doctor is a licensed medical professional and "language stating that the athlete's sex hormones are within the medically accepted range for a female."³⁰ The policy gives no set number and instead gives the healthcare provider sole discretion in determining what a "medically acceptable" range is.³¹ This relates to the current issue of the increasing medicalization of women's lives. It is clear that the policy focuses on the "interests and beliefs of physicians," allowing them to further reinforce existing power relations.³² By limiting membership on the basis of gender, the legitimacy of women's roller derby as a resistance may be compromised.

Third, in order to appeal to a wider audience, roller derby has become increasingly sexualized as it has gained popularity. One of the defining aspects of the sport is the way it allows women to transgress norms concerning attire and adornment. Skaters often couple "risqué attire with bulky gear" in an effort to disrupt the sexualization that occurs when wearing "slut-wear" alone.³³ While these sexualized uniforms are described as "both counter-hegemonic and subtly revolutionary," they may prove to be problematic.³⁴ This freedom to dress in sexy attire is often conflated with the freedom from sexual objectification. Although the skaters feel that they are breaking norms through their style of dress, they are "still objects of critical gazes."³⁵ Regardless, Women's Roller Derby remains a method of empowerment for women through their bodies by crossing gender boundaries with the unique combination of sexuality and aggression.

Conclusion

In our society that normalizes the binary gender system, gender socialization ensures that all people internalize and adhere to the norms that dictate appropriate appearance and behavior for

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Riessman, Catherine Kohler. "Women and Medicalization: A New Perspective." *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*. Ed. Rose Weitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 49-66). Print.

33. Peluso, Natalie M. "Cruising for a Bruising: Women's Flat Track Roller Derby." *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*. Ed. Chris Bobel, Samantha Kwan. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011. 37-47. Print.

34. Ibid.

35. Wilkins, Amy C. "So Full of Myself as a Chick: Goth Women, Sexual Independence, and Gender Egalitarianism." *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behavior*. Ed. Rose Weitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 163-176. Print.

25. Messerschmidt, James W. "On Gang Girls, Gender and a Structured Action Theory: A Reply to Miller." *Theoretical Criminology* 6.4 (2002): 461-75. Print.

26. Peluso, Natalie M. "Cruising for a Bruising: Women's Flat Track Roller Derby." *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules*. Ed. Chris Bobel, Samantha Kwan. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011. 37-47. Print.

27. *Women's Flat Track Derby Association*. Spellen Media, 2009. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

both men and women. In the realm of sports, this translates to the ideas that women should have smaller bodies that take up a minimal amount of space and should participate in athletic activities that include little to no contact. While the pressure to conform to these norms is overwhelmingly pervasive, those who participate in women's flat-track roller derby prove that resistance is possible. Through their attire, their aggression, and their acceptance of different body sizes, roller girls call into question the concept of gender as we know it. Despite the possible drawbacks associated with women's flat track roller derby as a form of protest, these hard-hitting female athletes are rapidly calling societal gender norms into question and proving that life can be lived and enjoyed outside the gender binary. Ultimately, women's flat-track roller derby constitutes a successful embodied resistance against the current gender system, thereby implicating the need for a closer examination of all female contact sports.

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Latin Curriculum and Caesar's Legacy following the Second World War, 1946-1950

by Ashley Williams

This research examines materials published in The Classical Journal and The Classical Weekly during the period following the Second World War, 1946-1950, in order to determine the state of Latin curriculum in high schools and colleges, the specific references to Caesar, the perceived values of Caesar and his writings, and the suggested role of Caesar within the Latin curriculum at the time. This research is aimed at furthering knowledge of Latin curriculum and the role of Caesar within the Latin curriculum during the transformative postwar period in the United States. An analysis of these sources provides a unique perspective on the pedagogy behind Latin curriculum from 1946-1950. My research showed that Caesar was prominent within the Latin curriculum of high schools and colleges in the postwar years, that his writings were considered valuable for their cultural and grammatical aspects, and that his role within the Latin curriculum was being solidified in the intermediate levels of the Latin curriculum, which was possibly related to a larger movement towards sustaining Classics programs in the United States.

Julius Caesar has been an integral part of the global Latin curriculum, including that of the United States, virtually since his death. Caesar's works, including *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* and the *Civil Wars*, have been used and valued for different aspects within various historical periods and regions of the world. This paper examines the period following the Second World War, 1946-1950 through materials published in *The Classical Journal (CJ)* and *The Classical Weekly (CW)*, the perceived value of Caesar and his writings, and the suggested role of Caesar within the Latin curriculum at the time in the United States.

Wide-ranging scholarship on the figure of Julius Caesar across the course of two thousand years has regularly included discussions of his writings for their historical value as well as their pedagogical role within Latin courses and curriculum. For example, more recently, these varied discourses have included publications such as *Caesar in the Curriculum: Some New Approaches* by Fred Mench (1970), "The Power of Tradition: Methods for Teaching Latin in the Context of History of Educational Thought" by Andriy Fomin (2005), and publications such as *Latin Curriculum Standards Revised* (1990) published by state boards.¹ During the postwar period, 1946-1950, *CJ* and *CW* were both prominent journals which published scholarly articles on Classics in general and question of Latin curriculum more specifically. An analysis of materials published within these journals will provide an insight into the view of Caesar within the United States scholarly community and the Latin curriculum during the postwar period in both public high schools and colleges. My research in these journals will also provide information on Caesar's legacy within the broader context of Classical Studies over time in the United States and the context of a changing society during the dynamic years following the Second World War.

The wide range of research on Classics curriculum in the United States, especially Latin curriculum over the centuries, tends to focus on certain time periods and geographic regions. *Classics and National Cultures*, edited by Susan A. Stephens and Phiroze Vasunia (2010), for example, contains chapters by several authors who

1. Fred Mench, *Caesar in the Curriculum: Some New Approaches* (Oxford, OH: American Classical League, 1970).

Andriy Fomin, "The Power of Tradition: Methods for Teaching Latin in the Context of History of Educational Thought," *American Educational History Journal*, 32.2 (2005): 202-207.

Dover Delaware State Dept. of Public Instruction, Latin Curriculum Standards. Revised (Dover, Delaware: State Board of Education, 1990).

discuss the role of Classical Studies within the context of various global cultures, including Ireland, Italy and Japan.² One particular chapter, by Joy Connolly, discusses the influence and role of Classics within early America.³ *The Culture of Classicism*, by Caroline Winterer (2002), is representative of the scholarship published on the topic of the role of Classics within wider American society, and not just curriculum.⁴ Winterer discussed the period from 1780-1910 and focused on the role of Classics within the antebellum period of American history. "Periodical Literature on Teaching the Classics in Translation, 1924-1975: An Annotated Bibliography," by Edward V. George touched in part on the period directly following the Second World War. However, his work focused more on compiling scholarship that discussed the best practices for teaching Classical literature in translation rather than on teaching Caesar in the original language.⁵ Though many others have studied Caesar and his writings, in the field of Caesar studies today, there is little analysis of Caesar's role within Latin curriculum during the period directly following the Second World War. In contrast, a great deal of scholarship during the second half of the 20th century treats contemporary studies of Caesar within the curriculum.⁶ For example, "The Power of Tradition: Methods of Teaching Latin in the Context of History and Educational Thought," by Andriy Fomin, discusses traditional methods for teaching Latin, but does not deal in depth with Caesar's role in the Latin curriculum during the postwar period.⁷ An analysis of Caesar's role within the Latin curriculum and community in the years following the Second

2. Susan A. Stephens and Phiroze Vasunia, ed., *Classics and National Cultures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

3. Stephens and Vasunia, 78-99.

4. Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780-1910* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

5. Edward V. George, "Periodical Literature on Teaching the Classics in Translation, 1924-1975: An Annotated Bibliography," *The Classical World*, 69.3 (Nov., 1975): 161-199.

6. Fred Mench, *Caesar in the Curriculum: Some New Approaches* (Oxford, OH: American Classical League, 1970).

Richard Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

Meyer Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

R. Middlekauf, "A Persistent Tradition: The Classical Curriculum in Eighteenth Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* 18 (1961): 54-67.

7. Andriy Fomin, "The Power of Tradition: Methods for Teaching Latin in the Context of History of Educational Thought," *American Educational History Journal* 32.2 (2005): 202-207.

World War would demonstrate Caesar was perceived and valued by the Classics communities in the United States at the time.

Background information on the history of Classics within the high schools and colleges of the United States provides a necessary basis for an evaluation of the state of Latin curriculum and Caesar's legacy in the postwar years. Common subjects taught in public high schools during the early period of American history and the American education system included spelling, arithmetics, grammar, history, handwriting, and general sciences.⁸ Classical Studies was viewed as valuable within American society and education systems from the early stages of American history, to the continued presence of Classical Studies programs in high schools and colleges by the early 20th century.⁹

A closer examination of *CJ* and *CW* will provide additional background information and the context within which to discuss the curriculum materials published in both journals from 1946-1950. *CJ*, published by The Classical Association of the Midwest and South, began publication in 1905, and is still published four times a year. *CW*, published weekly by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, began publication in 1907, and became *CW* in 1957. Both *CJ* and *CW* addressed an audience of Classical Studies and Latin teachers and professors, and the authors published within these journals include both high school and college level Latin and Classical Studies teachers and professors.

State of Latin Curriculum from 1946-1950

A number of articles from *CJ* and *CW* addressed the Latin curriculum of both high schools and colleges in the United States during the period from 1946-1950. Fully understanding the goals of the Classics communities for the Latin curriculum and programs during the postwar period allows for a more complete analysis of Caesar's legacy at the time. This section will contain an analysis of articles within *CJ* followed by an analysis of those published in *CW*. Articles published in *CJ* focused on the general Latin education within public schools, the structure of these Latin classes, and the benefits of certain strategies within the Latin curriculum. Analyzing these specific themes is beneficial in identifying the general nature of the Latin

curriculum following the war and the general attitude of those within the Classical Association of the Midwest and South towards the Latin curriculum during the postwar years before looking at Caesar in particular.

Articles published in *CJ* from 1946-1950 on the general Latin curriculum of the time highlighted a need for curriculum changes to accompany a changing world. For example, "The General Education Movement and the Classics," by Dorrance S. White, published in *CJ* in 1948, discussed in detail the need to develop a General Education curriculum for the changing postwar world. This discussion touched on the quality of teachers, the necessity for good values to be taught in the schools, and the Latin curriculum. The article was based on notes from a round-table discussion concerned with the general education movement occurring at the time.¹⁰ Several other articles published in *CJ* from 1946-1950, including "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin," and "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin Part II," published in 1946 by Jonah W. D. Skiles, support the concept of a dynamic and transformed Latin curriculum during the postwar years.¹¹

Like "The General Education Movement and the Classics" article, these articles by Skiles are published discussions from panel meetings. Both articles outline potential objectives and goals for Latin classes, including the ability to read, understand, translate texts, pronounce, and write Latin.¹² In addition to discussing the structure of Latin courses, Skiles suggests that a Latin curriculum should be dynamic and flexible to the times and social conditions. These articles specifically mentioned the relevance of Latin to modern health, appreciation of domestic life, and vocational training in postwar American society.¹³ "A Middle Way," by Grundy Steiner, published in *CJ* in 1950, discussed the need to change the Latin curriculum in high school and college Latin programs. He suggested the need for a new structure of Latin classes that would balance and mirror the changes in the demographics of the high schools and colleges, especially with respect to the classical studies programs, and that would accompany the changing world and educational environment of

10. Dorrance S. White, "The General Education Movement and the Classics," *The Classical Journal* 44.2 (Nov., 1948): 85-94.

11. Jonah W. D. Skiles, "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin," *The Classical Journal* 42.1 (Oct., 1946): 9-13.

Jonah W. D. Skiles, "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin Part II," *The Classical Journal* 42.2 (Nov., 1946): 93-96.

12. Skiles, "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin," 9.

13. Skiles, "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin," 9.

8. Charles Carpenter, *History of American Schoolbooks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963).

9. Winterer, 10-43.

the United States.¹⁴ Steiner also addressed the needs of the general student population, those who wished to continue on to college, and the average man's needs in relation to high school Classics curriculum. According to Steiner, the needs of the general student population are met by incorporating Latin and Greek into more general classes, such as science. Teaching Greek and Roman culture in addition to the languages addresses the needs of those wishing to continue to college, and improving English skills meets the needs of the average man.¹⁵ "Attitude and Education," by W. G. Wiegand, published in 1950 by *CJ*, emphasized the need for change in all high school and college subjects, including Latin, towards more affectionate and caring teachers.¹⁶ Concern for the nature of the Latin curriculum and coursework is also evident in "What Can We Learn from the A.S.T.P.?" by Mars M. Westington from *CJ* in 1946. Westington expressed a concern for the sustainability of knowledge gained in high school Latin courses.¹⁷ Westington suggested that some programs, such as the Army Specialized Training Program (A.S.T.P.) which was designed to be faster than at colleges and universities at preparing specialized technicians for the army, rushed Latin curricula and were less effective than those taking a slower and more focused look at Latin.¹⁸

Though reform as suggested in these articles is not solely curriculum focused, it is significant when examined in relationship to the curriculum revisions, such as emphasizing the relationship of Latin to the modern world and creating a balanced and effective Latin curriculum for students, called for by other articles published within *CJ* from 1946-1950. The sentiments towards Latin curriculum of the day suggest that revisions for Latin curriculum were tied to a larger concern for improving and strengthening the Classical Studies programs in high schools and colleges. These articles support the idea that the time after the Second World War was full of change and a general desire for changes in the Latin curriculum of both high schools and colleges within The Classical Association of the Midwest and South.

Numerous articles in *CW* in the years from 1946-

14. Grundy Steiner, "A Middle Way (A Classical Program for Today)," *The Classical Journal* 46.3 (Dec., 1950): 134.

15. Steiner, 134-136.

16. W.G. Wiegand, "Attitude and Education," *The Classical Journal* 45.4 (Jan., 1950): 164-169.

17. Mars M. Westington, "What Can We Learn from the A.S.T.P.?" *The Classical Journal* 42.2 (Nov., 1946): 82-85.

18. Westington, 83.

1950 addressed both the high school and college Latin curriculum. These articles, like those in *CJ*, expressed a desire for changes in the Latin curriculum and emphasized the changing nature of the Classics curriculum during the postwar period. For example, "Latin and the New Internationalism," by William Charles Korfmacher (*CW* 1946) like Skiles' articles, emphasized the changing world and the necessity of parallel changes to be made in high school and college Latin curriculum.¹⁹ Korfmacher's article discussed the possibilities of Latin serving as a language bridge between world cultures, a means of promoting tolerance, and a way to encourage world unity.²⁰ "Ubinam Gentium Sumus," by C. Howard Smith, emphasized the changes in society and education in the United States during the postwar period as well as the decline in Classical Studies programs in the United States.²¹ He discussed a need to change in subject matter of high school and college Latin courses to address the changing society, educational sense, and the need to revitalize the Classical Studies programs in high schools and colleges. He suggested creating a curriculum that was more relatable to students than the history of the Gauls and the story of Aeneas without reducing the quality of Latin education in the schools.²² Smith's article demonstrates concerns for both the ability of Latin curriculum to meet the needs of the changing society and for the survival of Latin programs in high schools and colleges. "Loquarne Linguis Hominum Aut Disertorum?" by Franklin B. Krauss (*CW* 1947) emphasized a new order for teaching introductory Latin courses in high schools and colleges that emphasized learning to speak, write and then read Latin works before moving on to harder subjects.²³ He outlined some changes made to teaching Latin in high school programs, such as non-traditional sequences of staple Latin works, the incorporation of Latin prose and poetry, and an emphasis on English translations of texts that impacted the order of classes and the depth of subject matter covered in introductory courses.²⁴ Krauss's ideas are significant because they suggest that the movement towards changing the Latin curriculum was growing and actually being instituted

19. William Charles Korfmacher, "Latin and the New Internationalism," *The Classical Weekly* 39.16 (Mar.4, 1946): 122-124.

20. Korfmacher, 122.

21. C. Howard Smith, "Ubinam Gentium Sumus," *The Classical Weekly* 41.12 (Mar.15, 1948): 187-190.

22. Smith, 188.

23. Franklin B. Krauss, "Loquarne Linguis Hominum Aut Disertorum?," *The Classical Weekly* 40.20 (Apr. 21, 1947): 154-160.

24. Krauss, 155-156.

at some schools, such as those he mentioned with non-traditional aspects, by the end of the Second World War.²⁵ These articles show that *CW* and The Classical Association of the Atlantic States were concerned with the preparation of students for further Latin coursework and careers as well as the nature and sustainability of the Latin programs and curricula in high schools and colleges during the postwar period.

Another common theme found in articles published by *CW* was a focus and interest in Latin curriculum for the less gifted students. "Latin and the Less Accelerated Student," by Mrs. Harold W. Murray in 1948, and "Latin for the Less Gifted High School Student," by Margaret Short in 1950 both discussed the ideal structure for Latin courses aimed at less talented high school students.²⁶ "Latin and the Less Accelerated Student," in particular discussed the benefits of Latin for improving the English skills of less advanced students. The author lists improving communication skills, gaining historical knowledge and perspective, and broadening their horizons to foreign literatures that would benefit them in their future attitudes, perspectives and career paths as the goals of Latin for these students.²⁷ "Latin for the Less Gifted High School Student" by Margaret Short also discussed changes needed in the Latin curriculum for slower learning students.²⁸ A concern for less advanced students, displayed only at the high school level, is significant; it suggests that this concern may have been rooted in a desire to prepare students to advance into college level Latin courses. Separating students at different learning levels would allow them to customize the Latin curriculum and encourage students to either pursue college level Latin programs or find real world applications for their Latin knowledge. Though varied in topics, the articles published by *CW* show a concern for the state of the postwar Latin curriculum and encourage changes to be made within the curriculum to better prepare students for the changing world and the complexities of the Latin language.

The goals and objectives expressed in both *CJ* and *CW* articles suggest there was a common goal for high school and college Latin curriculum and courses during the postwar period and a concern for the nature of the

25. Krauss, 155-156.
26. Mrs. Harold W. Murray, "Latin and the Less Accelerated Student," *The Classical Weekly* 41.11 (Mar.1, 1948): 167-172.
Margaret Short, "Latin for the Less Gifted High School Student," *The Classical Weekly* 43.9 (Jan. 30, 1950): 139-141.

27. Murray, 168.

28. Short, 139-140.

Latin programs and curriculum. According to articles published in both journals, the general goal for Latin curriculum was to broaden the students' knowledge of history while gaining a working knowledge of the Latin language and culture that would be applicable to the changing world. Taken in relation to the dynamic postwar world, these goals seem representative of the values that were believed to be important in the face of a changing world and society. The differences between the two journals and their approach to the goals and changes of the Latin curriculum are notable, too. There seems to have been more concern for the less advanced Latin students among the publications of *CW*. Articles published in this journal stressed the importance of modified Latin curriculum for the less gifted students in order to procure the best preparation possible for their future careers or college experiences. This concern is not present in the articles published by *CJ*. This suggests that *CJ* was more concerned with creating a standardized curriculum for all students, regardless of learning abilities, or were not interested in less gifted students. The differences between the two suggest that, although there was an underlying movement and attitude towards curriculum revision in high schools and colleges, there were differences among regions, Classics communities, and audiences in the United States after the Second World War.

Both *CJ* and *CW* also suggest that the Latin curriculum was viewed as an entire unit rather than as individual courses from 1946-1950. Latin courses were considered part of a larger sequence that would eventually achieve one or several end goals. Consideration of values and the tangibility of the Latin curriculum to high school and college Latin students as well as the most effective means of teaching students seem to have been considered appropriate and necessary when discussing changes for both levels of Latin education. The idea of a unified Latin curriculum is supported by articles in both journals, such as "Loquarne Linguis Hominum Aut Disertorum?" by Krauss and "Ubinam Gentium Sumus" by Smith, which addressed both high school and college Latin curriculum.²⁹ These articles refer to the stages of Latin learning students have reached rather than their level of education. Considering this structure of sequential courses and goals is beneficial when analyzing the role and treatment of Caesar within curriculum reform articles and discussions from the postwar period, because it can allow a more complete analysis within the confines of the Latin programs in

29. Krauss, 163-164.; Smith, 188-189.

high schools and colleges at the time.

Caesar in the Latin Curriculum from 1946-1950

Although there were no articles published in either *CW* or *CJ* that directly addressed Caesar's role in the Latin curriculum during the postwar period, Caesar is mentioned and discussed in several articles published by these journals between 1946 and 1950. Through analyzing the references of Caesar in these articles, it is possible to determine which works of Caesar were used, why they were used, and how they were used at specific levels in the Latin curriculum sequences. It is also possible to deduce the general role of Caesar and the general attitude towards Caesar in the Latin curriculum of high schools and colleges from 1946-1950. Articles from *CW* will be analyzed first, followed by those from *CJ*.

CW published articles from 1946-1950 that mentioned the use of Caesar in Latin curriculum. "The Case of Latin on Appeal," by Julia Finney, was published in 1949 by *CW* and listed Caesar's *Gallic Wars* in a sequence of texts used in the second-year Latin course. There were, however, no specifics regarding which of the seven books of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* were used.³⁰ The other articles published in *CW* did not mention specific works of Caesar used. These articles mentioned Caesar in a wide variety of contexts, such as the level of difficulty of his work, the way his works were approached, and what aspects of his works were emphasized.³¹ These attributes will be further explored later in relation to the perceived value of Caesar and his role in the sequence of high school and college Latin curriculum. The lack of discussion of specific works of Caesar used in high school and college curriculum suggests that Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* were prominent enough in the Latin curriculum at the time, in both levels and communities, that the authors did not feel the need to specify which works they were referring to. This is significant because it rules out the widespread use of Caesar's other work, the *Civil Wars*,

and it suggests that Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* was viewed as a pivotal part of the Latin curriculum at the time.

Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* are prominent in Latin curriculum articles published by *CJ* during the postwar period. Like the articles published in *CW*, the majority of articles published in *CJ* did not specify which of Caesar's works were used. They did, however, reference using Caesar as a staple of the curriculum in high schools and colleges.³² "What Can We Learn from the A.S.T.P.?" by Mars M. Westington, from 1946 mentioned that Caesar's *Gallic Wars* was used when discussing the disadvantages of rushing the Latin curriculum in expedited Latin programs such as the Army Specialized Training Program (A.S.T.P.).³³ This again supports the notion that Caesar's *Gallic Wars* were widely enough used that they did not need to specify books or topics in these articles. "A Latin Teacher Looks at the ASTP," by Elizabeth Grone, discussed the teaching of Latin within the Army Specialized Training Programs (A.S.T.P.) and included a line from Caesar's *Civil Wars* when discussing how memorization of Latin phrases can help with learning forms.³⁴ "Toward Improvement of High-School Latin Curriculum. Report of a Symposium Held in Nashville, April 4, 1947," by Fred S. Dunham and several others, was published by *CW* in 1947 and mentioned Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and *Civil Wars* as part of a list of possible Latin texts to use in high school Latin curriculum.³⁵ These two articles are significant because they suggest that, while Caesar's *Gallic Wars* was the most prominently used in high school and college Latin curriculum during the postwar period, other works of Caesar were considered when discussing high school curriculum. By comparing the treatment of Caesar's works within both journals it is possible to conclude that Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* were frequently used across the country in both high school and college Latin curriculum as part of the larger Latin course sequence prior to the Second World War. Significantly, this suggests that Caesar's perceived

30. Julia Finney, "The Case of Latin on Appeal," *The Classical Weekly* 42.7 (Jan. 10, 1949): 110.

31. Goodwin B. Beach, "Nihil Est Quod Latine Dici Non Possit," *The Classical Weekly* 40.6 (Dec. 2, 1946): 42-45.

Emilie Margaret White, "Latin and the Modern Languages: 1948," *The Classical Weekly* v. 42, n.1 (Oct. 4, 1948): 6-10.

Francis W. Schehl, "The Survival of the Classical Languages," *The Classical Weekly* 41.9 (Feb. 2, 1948): 134-138.

Karl P. Harrington, "Reminiscences," *The Classical Weekly* 40.15 (Feb. 24, 1947): 114-118.

32. Lucy A. Whitsel, "Old Wine in New Bottles," *The Classical Journal* 44.5 (Feb., 1949): 325.

B.L. Ullman, et al., "Toward Improvement of the High School Latin Curriculum II: Report of a Symposium Held at Milwaukee, April 2, 1948," *The Classical Journal* 44.2 (Nov., 1948): 105.

33. Westington, 83.

34. Elizabeth Grone "A Latin Teacher Looks at the ASTP," *The Classical Journal* 41.4 (Jan., 1946): 153.

35. Fred S. Dunham et al., "Toward Improvement of the High-School Latin Curriculum. Report of a Symposium Held in Nashville, April 4, 1947," *The Classical Journal* 43.2 (Nov., 1947): 84-85.

value may have been established prior to the Second World War; however, it also suggests that Caesar's desired placement within the Latin curriculum may have been more closely tied to the changing atmosphere of the Latin curriculum at the time than to previously established constructs.

The Perceived Value of Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic Wars

Through an examination of the articles that mentioned the use of Caesar's works, first in *CW* and then in *CJ*, it is possible to determine the perceived value of Caesar's works, including the *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars* within both publications and the general Latin curriculum of the postwar period. This allows for a greater understanding of the prominence of Caesar and his role within the larger Latin curriculum of the time period. It is also possible to make some conclusions regarding American values in the Classics programs of the United States based on what aspects of Caesar's works were most valued. An examination of these articles suggests that Caesar was viewed as valuable for both the cultural and grammatical aspects of his writings.

In *CW*, Caesar's writings are discussed as being valuable mainly for their cultural aspects and to some extent for their grammatical aspects within both high school and college Latin curriculum. "Latin and the Modern Languages," by Emilie Margaret White, *CW* 1948, discussed the differences between past and modern teachings of Caesar; she discussed how past courses rushed through Caesar and focused on memorization over understanding, while modern Latin courses took more time analyzing his works. She also addressed the benefits of learning modern languages at a young age and her hope for moving the beginning years of Latin studies to eighth grade.³⁶ This suggests that Latin instructors were viewing Caesar and his works as increasingly important within the Latin curriculum by the postwar period. Frances L. Baird, in "Experiments in Teaching Latin Vocabulary" published by *CW* in 1948, discussed the usefulness of Caesar and other Latin authors in teaching vocabulary to students. According to Baird's article, Caesar was useful for identifying and teaching important vocabulary to students while they read Latin.³⁷ This article supports the idea that Caesar's works were valued for their grammatical aspects. In "Latin and the New Internationalism," published

36. White, 6, 10.

37. Frances L. Baird "Experiments in Teaching Latin Vocabulary," *The Classical Weekly* 42.6 (Dec. 20, 1948): 93.

in 1946, William Charles Korfmacher discussed the abilities of Latin to provide a means for students to foster a better sense of English and language in general as well as a sense of tolerance and universality.³⁸ He also mentioned the ability of Latin, and texts such as these of Caesar, to gain perspective on life and work. According to Korfmacher, Latin can provide students with an open-minded perspective on life that encourages hard work in areas, such as language studies, that will benefit the students in their future careers.³⁹ This article gives the impression that Caesar was part of a larger goal to use Latin texts to emphasize life lessons, such as the ability to address problems in several ways, that students could retain after they were done taking Latin.⁴⁰

Articles from *CJ* displayed similar perceived values regarding Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*. In *CJ* from 1946-1950, Caesar's works are generally discussed as being most valuable for their cultural aspects in high school and college level Latin curriculum; however, they are also mentioned for their grammatical value. "What Can We Learn from A.S.T.P.?" discussed the relationship between a student reading Caesar and his ability to later apply that knowledge to discussions of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and the history of the decline of the Roman Republic.⁴¹ This suggests that Caesar was viewed as important within the larger context of Roman history, and the cultural aspects, including those related to the military and Roman life, of his works would have been the most emphasized and valued by high school and college Latin courses. "A Latin Teacher Looks at ASTP," by Grone emphasized the importance of the cultural aspects within Caesar. Grone mentioned that students would more easily understand simpler texts, such as those written during the medieval period; however, she also mentioned that Caesar could only be replaced if the cultural and additional values found in Caesar could be replicated and maintained in the curriculum by another text.⁴² Grone's tone within the article suggests that it would not be possible to replace the cultural aspects of Caesar with another reading. This shows that Caesar was viewed as one of the more valuable cultural sources. Skiles also mentioned the cultural values of Caesar's works. This article stated that students should be encouraged to focus on the aspects of society that can be learned from reading Caesar instead of focusing on

38. Korfmacher, 122.

39. Korfmacher, 123.

40. Korfmacher, 123.

41. Westington, 83.

42. Grone, 152.

grammar.⁴³ Ullman and several others, mentioned the grammatical value of Caesar several times.⁴⁴ This article mentioned the higher level of forms study necessary with Caesar, and it also emphasized some of the more advanced grammatical elements needed for Caesar, such as subjunctives.⁴⁵

The perceived values of Caesar within articles from both journals suggest that there was more of an emphasis placed on Caesar's cultural lessons, followed by grammatical lessons. The emphasis on the value of cultural lessons within Caesar's works suggests that the Classics communities in the United States, and perhaps American society as a whole, were concerned with creating a strong generation that was capable of dealing with the changing world after the Second World War. This is supported by the previous discussion of the state of the Latin curriculum in high schools and colleges in the United States during the postwar years. Several articles discussed the importance of using Latin to cope with the changing society and to better prepare students for various futures. It is possible that Caesar's perceived value was high during the postwar years because his works were capable of exemplifying the cultural values being emphasized at the time.

The Placement of Caesar within the Latin Curriculum

The perceived values of Caesar's work for grammar, language, and cultural aspects influenced the placement of his works within certain years of high school and college Latin curriculum during the postwar years. The dynamic atmosphere of the Classics communities during the postwar period suggest that Caesar's placement within the Latin curriculum may have been partially linked to the desired revisions of the Latin curriculum at the time. Articles published in *CJ* will be analyzed first, followed by those from *CW*.

Articles published in *CJ* demonstrate that the desired and actual placements of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* during the postwar period were in the intermediary high school and college Latin courses. Westington in 1946, discussed the teaching of Latin within the Army Specialized Training Program and the appropriateness of similar teaching strategies within more general high school Latin courses

and curriculum.⁴⁶ Westington mentioned that the rushed nature of the Latin curriculum would cause a non-military student learning Caesar in the first year to more quickly forget his knowledge of Latin.⁴⁷ This statement suggests that Westington was not a proponent of emphasizing Caesar in introductory Latin courses. Grone discussed the difficulty of Caesar's writings for Latin students and mentioned that Caesar was typically used in the second year of Latin.⁴⁸ Grone's tone, much like Westington's, seems to propose that Caesar was most appropriate for more advanced Latin classes.

Like the articles published in *CJ* from 1946-1950, those in *CW* tend to suggest that Caesar is an appropriate intermediary text for Latin students in high school and college Latin programs. "Loquarne Linguis Hominum Aut Disertorum?" by Krauss suggested Caesar was applicable for Latin curriculum after students had a working knowledge of the language.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that Krauss suggested a slightly different order for introductory Latin and gaining a working knowledge of Latin, the idea of having Caesar later in the curriculum is found in other articles published by *CW* at the time. "Nihil Est Quod Latine Dici Non Possit," by Goodwin B. Beach in 1946, asserted that Caesar's works were not suitable for a first-year Latin course.⁵⁰ "Latin and the Modern Languages," by White, discussed the placement of Caesar before the reading of Cicero and Virgil.⁵¹ In "The Case of Latin on Appeal," published in 1949, Julia Finney mentioned Caesar as one part of multiple units in a second year Latin course.⁵² These three articles suggest that Caesar was generally used as an intermediary between learning the basics of Latin and reading more complex Latin texts. Though these articles place Caesar in the intermediary Latin curriculum of both high schools and colleges, other articles published by *CW* state that Caesar was actually used in some introductory Latin classes. "Reminiscences," by Karl P. Harrington, mentioned that the emphasis on Caesar should be moved out of the introductory courses if only two years of Latin were going to be taken.⁵³ Francis W. Schehl, in "The Survival of Classical Languages,"

46. Westington, 83.

47. Westington, 83.

48. Grone, 152.

49. Krauss, "Loquarne Linguis Hominum Aut Disertorum? (Concluded)," 163-164.

50. Beach, 42.

51. White, 6-7.

52. Finney, 110.

53. Harrington, 116.

43. Skiles, "Preparing for Post-War High-School Latin Part II," 95.

44. Ullman, B.L. et al., "Toward Improvement of the High-School Latin Curriculum II: Report of a Symposium Held at Milwaukee, April 2, 1948," *The Classical Journal* 44.2 (Nov., 1948): 97-143.

45. Ullman B.L. et al., 121, 123.

stated that students should have at least a year and a half of Latin before attempting Caesar's writings and that Caesar should be taken out of the introductory Latin courses in both high schools and colleges.⁵⁴ In "Latin for the Less Gifted High School Student" Short specifically mentioned that Caesar was used during the second semester of Latin courses.⁵⁵ These articles show that Caesar was still used as part of introductory courses in high schools and colleges during the postwar years; however, the attitudes of Harrington and Schehl towards Caesar's use within introductory courses suggests that there was a movement to make Caesar's Gallic Wars solely intermediary texts.

From analyzing discussions in *CW* and *CJ* of actual and suggested placements of Caesar and his works within the Latin curriculum, it is possible to conclude that some high school and college Latin programs had already moved Caesar to an intermediate level. There is also evidence that there was a movement to remove Caesar from the introductory courses in those programs that still had his works in the curricula of the first semesters. From these conclusions, it is possible to infer that the actual and desired placements of Caesar within the intermediate level of Latin curriculum in both high schools and colleges in the United States was linked to the perceived cultural values of Caesar's works. As shown in the articles that discussed the state of the Latin curriculum, American society was concerned with the creating a culture that was capable of dealing with the changing postwar world, and Caesar's placement within the intermediate levels of the Latin curriculum would have provided students time to develop skills needed to read his writings. This would allow the cultural aspects of Caesar's works to be emphasized without having to focus too much on grammar. Caesar's writings contained some useful grammar, too, which would have allowed for a good combination of culture and grammar at the intermediate level. The importance placed on finding the proper location for Caesar within the high school and college Latin curriculum reinforces that the perceived value of Caesar at the time was high; it also suggests his writings were highly valued within the larger context of the Latin curriculum and Classics communities, and met the desired educational values present across the country during the postwar years.

Caesar's Legacy

From analyzing the state of the high school and college

54. Schehl, 137.

55. Short, 140.

Latin curriculum as seen in the academic world and publications of *CJ* and *CW* during the period directly following the Second World War, several conclusions can be made about the legacy of Caesar at that time. Caesar was present and prominent within the Latin curriculum of high schools and colleges in the postwar years. The lack of specification regarding his works suggests that he was well known and established in the Latin curriculum of both educational levels by 1946. An analysis of articles from both journals, *CJ* and *CW*, demonstrates that Caesar was viewed as valuable for high school and college level Latin courses mainly for his cultural aspects, but also for grammatical aspects, such as vocabulary. The perceived value of Caesar created and resulted in debates over his placement at certain levels within the Latin curriculum. Articles provide evidence that Caesar's placement was being made more uniform and stable within the intermediary levels of the Latin curriculum in high schools and colleges in the United States.

This movement towards revising the curriculum and Caesar's placement within it was seemingly catalyzed by the global changes that followed both World Wars and the cultural values of the Classics communities and American society that were placed on the Latin curriculum during the postwar years. Caesar's ability to teach students about culture, history, and values exemplified the cultural lessons that Classics programs wanted to incorporate into both high school and college programs, which reinforced Caesar's role as a crucial figure within the Latin curriculum during the period directly following the Second World War.

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The Forgotten Page

The Plight of Endpaper
by Katlyn Econom

This research investigates the role endpapers play in the genre of children's picture books. In the bookbinding profession, the endpaper affixes the pages to the thicker exterior of the covers. To the writers of many books, particularly picture books, the endpaper presents an opportunity to introduce or continue the story. The front endpaper draws the reader into the story. As the last page turns, the back endpaper recounts what the reader just read. This research paper discusses how the endpaper's purpose in book design may shift by examining how various authors and authoresses, such as Michael Bond, Beatrix Potter, Ludwig Bemelmans, and Eric Carle, use the endpaper to captivate their audience.



Courtesy of Project Gutenberg

Before the establishment of picture books as a prominent section of children's literature, no one seemed to care about the pages on the inside covers. The purpose of the pages, known as endpapers, is "to affix the pages of the book to the casing" (Harms and Lettow 17). According to Nikolajeva and Scott, authors of *How Picturebooks Work*, "almost nothing is written about the paratext of picture books such as titles, covers, or endpapers" (241). Despite the limited scholarly attention, endpapers are seen as more than a means to fasten pages to the spine of a book. Although the vast majority of books simply use a double spread of solid color, endpapers in children's picture books serve a different role. They add color and a visual summary of the story. Increasingly, authors see the value of engaging the reader from the start with the endpapers and then urging them to "[talk] about visual aesthetic considerations and how these [contribute] to the story's meaning" (Henderson and May 231).

A common way to engage the reader in the story, as Nikolajeva and Scott note, "is to depict the main character several times on endpaper, performing various actions, most often not mentioned inside the book" (247). Michael Bond, the author, and R.W. Alley, the illustrator, use this tactic in several of the books in the latest *Paddington Bear* series. Forming three somewhat zigzagging lines, the same ten small drawings of Paddington Bear fall on the two front and two back endpapers in the same pattern. Each depiction of Paddington Bear denotes a different activity. One shows him contentedly eating what looks to be a cinnamon bun or some other sweet pastry, while in another he anxiously peeks up under his umbrella at the rain falling down. In all of the pictures, though, he wears

his signature coat, and, in most, his hat and suitcase are nearby, signifying a unity between the stories.

Underlining the sense of unity, the *Paddington Bear* series utilizes the same exact endpapers for several other *Paddington Bear* books. The only distinguishing factor becomes the background color. Since the ten pictures are outlines done in black ink, it is relatively easy to alter the color of the page to create a new effect for the separate adventures in the series. The book *Paddington Bear* has a rich cherry red hue, while *Paddington Bear at the Circus* has a bright lemony yellow. Children may then compare the similarities of the endpapers and know they are collecting a series.

Many readers today do not know the *Paddington Bear* series originated from Michael Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington*. First published in 1958 in Great Britain, not as a picture book, but as a book with eight chapters, it tells the same story of the Peruvian bear abandoned in Paddington Station. Perusing the first two chapters, "Please Look After this Bear" and "A Bear in Hot Water," one may recognize the story in *Paddington Bear* published in 1998. Both the picture book and chapter book begin "Mr. and Mrs. Brown first met Paddington on a railway platform" (Bond, *Paddington Bear* 3 and Bond, *A Bear Called Paddington* 7). Even so, *Paddington Bear* clearly favors the audience of younger children. As a picture book, the emphasis lies on images telling the story, while *A Bear Called Paddington* utilizes the written word more. Numerous sentences from the original stories are cut from the newer story.

Due to the more in-depth story, several features are explained further in *A Bear Called Paddington*. For instance, a reader familiar with the series published in the late twentieth century might recognize the Paddington Bear in *A Bear Called Paddington* from his hat and suitcase, but that bear does not have a coat. The one characteristic unifying the ten small drawings on the endpapers in the 1998 picture books might confuse an audience because of the absence of the coat. The illustrator for *A Bear Called Paddington*, Peggy Fortnum, did not include the coat because the story of how Paddington obtains the coat is explained later in one of the chapters.

Comparing the original, *A Bear Called Paddington*, and the newer *Paddington Bear*, the distinction between the endpapers might affect how a reader approaches each book. By viewing the multiple pictures of Paddington

Bear in one of the 1998 picture books, a reader may want to find which story each picture belongs to and thus is more likely to collect the series. Even though similar stories occur in the chapter book and the picture books, the endpapers exemplify how the picture books are tailored to younger children. The pictures capture their attention and curiosity. What is the bear doing? The children then seek out the story accompanying the image. No such connection can be made with the blank pages of the 1958 book. HarperCollins Publishing clearly tailored the picture books to better fit the intended audience. In the 1958 book, the blank, white endpapers do not encourage a reader to seek out other stories about Paddington. Anticipation is limited to one book, not several.



Courtesy of Amazon

Beatrix Potter's *Tales of Peter Rabbit* follow the same method as *Paddington Bear*. Designed specifically with children in mind, her series of animal fantasy stories are published in small books easily held and collected by the small hands of children. Ironically, the size of the book posed a small obstacle when Potter designed the endpapers, because as she told Mr. Warne, her publisher, she was "afraid that when fully coloured and repeated four times, it may look rather heavy for so small a book" (Taylor 72). Framed by Potter's own illustrations of her characters, as shown below, the endpapers entice the reader to read more stories. Lining the edges of the double spread endpapers, wispy blue swirls connect six small drawings of various characters on each page. Eleven of the twelve drawings in the 1998 edition depict a character reading or holding a book with the title of their own story written on the binding or cover. The date of the other editions may be determined "by looking at there [sic] animals" (Taylor 411). Ms. Potter went on to explain in a letter that

[a]fter Peter the books mainly came out in pairs. Thus 1903- Tailor of Gloucester & Squirrel Nutkin 1st edition end papers show Nutkin & a Tailor Mouse as well as Peter. Next year these 3 were joined by the next pair of books + Tw Bad Mice and Benjamin Bunny. Mrs. Tiggy joined them early on, but she was concealing the title of her book, until it was published. (Taylor 411)

Oddly enough, the titles on the open books follow the standard practice of reading left to right, allowing the reader to discern the title of the book. Spanning the back and front cover, the title would then begin on the back page with the book closed. Aside from the titles

of her other works, Ms. Potter, in her early sketches, also hid the original publication date in the endpapers. However, after asking the opinion of Norman Warne "the old date [of publication] (on nut bag) [was] scraped off the endpaper block" (Taylor 98). Ms. Potter clearly designed the endpapers to convey more information than simply showing her main characters.

The well-known endpapers lined with Potter's own watercolor illustrations of her characters served as the endpaper design for nearly one hundred years, from 1904 to 2002. The original 1902 publication of *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* actually "had grey-blue leaf-patterned endpapers" (Taylor 72). In 1903, "Beatrix was asked to provide a full-colour design to be used for her books' endpapers" (Taylor 72). The request, however, came with a price. With the addition of the illustrated endpapers, four pages of other illustrations subsequently "were sacrificed in 1903" (Potter, 2002 edition of *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* 5). Potter, in a letter to Norman Warne, revealed that she "always [thought] that an end paper ought to be something to rest the eye between the cover and the contents of the book; like a plain mount for a framed drawing" (Taylor 72). Ironically, her preference for a simpler endpaper design was honored in 2002 when, to celebrate "the centenary of the first publication by Frederick Warne of *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* in 1902," Frederick Warne & Co., as a trademark of Penguin Group Inc., reproduced *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (Potter, 2002 edition of *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* 5). Of the changes made, the biggest alteration was the removal of the illustrated endpapers. In their stead, faded outlines of the characters on a light blue background subtly form a base for an empty nameplate. Though the characters still grace the endpapers, the



Courtesy of Eric Carle

effect is not the same. The desire to seek out the other tales lessens when the reader must squint at the light lines to recognize the characters. Although Penguin Group produced the centenary collection of Beatrix Potter's work as one bundle, and there was thus no need to lead the reader to the other stories, the original illustrations were still appreciated, for they reminded the reader of specific characters. Clearly seeing the animals dressed in human attire, the reader is reminded "her animals do behave like animals in man respects, but they are human in more respects. Through them, Potter comments on human behavior" (Moynihan and Shaner 138).

Instead of utilizing the characters to frame a blank space as Beatrix Potter did on her *Tales'* endpapers, Ludwig Bemelmans frames a picture of the setting in his *Madeline* series. By providing a context, Bemelmans permits the reader to enter the story before it has technically begun and "to introduce key elements of his story" (Eastman 70). The endpapers, as thresholds, permit the reader to slowly enter and slowly exit the story. For example, the picture on the endpapers of *Madeline* allows the reader to slip into the setting of the historical urban center of Paris. As shown on the previous page, an expressionist drawing of a public square dominates the double spread endpapers "to suggest events to come" (Eastman 63). If the reader does not know the drawing represents the "Place de la Concorde" in Paris, the name is written on the bottom portion of the frame, thus "Bemelmans acquaints children with the landmarks of Paris" (Moynihan and Shaner 208). After completing the story, the reader hopefully has a better sense of the architecture and urban planning of the city of Paris.

The endpapers can also summarize the story. Vines

surround the frame, just as they covered the old house. In addition, the doves that visited Madeline outside her window while she was in the hospital fly over the vines. The policeman who ran after the thief still patrols the city streets and there, in the bottom right hand corner, walk the "twelve little girls in two straight lines" (Bemelmans 4). The use of the same illustration on the front and back endpapers further reflects the importance of repetition throughout the story. Bemelmans purposefully writes in rhymed couplets, invoking a sense that the story "bounces and jiggles along" (Eastman 55). The jolly beat caused by the repetition assists young readers' memory of the story.

Bemelmans won the Caldecott medal for his illustrations in *Madeline*. Indicative of the Expressionist style, "his line drawings, with color overlaid, are quick and facile, capturing the fun and exuberance of the moment" (Moynihan and Shaner 208). The Expressionist movement originated in Germany but spread quickly to France, where *Madeline* takes place and where Bemelmans spent a great deal of time. Capturing the emotions of a single moment, Expressionism does not follow the traditional rules concerning shape and color. Instead, the distorted shapes and attention to a strong color palette provoke the viewer to consider a new perspective. Perhaps then, Bemelmans' Expressionist endpapers ask the reader to keep an open mind as they read the story of Madeline, a French girl. "Already well received in adult art and literature," Expressionism introduces a new way of viewing the world; further inviting the reader to reconsider what they see, the frame in the endpapers "is hung not on a wall but apparently out of doors, against a backdrop of leaves, thus making the reader question the reality of both the picture and the trees" (Eastman 59).

Originally published by Simon & Schuster, *Madeline* debuted on a 23.25cm x 31 cm page (Eastman 53). When Viking Press purchased the rights to *Madeline* in 1958, the height of the books remained the same but “both side margins have accordingly been narrowed” to 22.75cm (Eastman 53). Other than the slight size change, “each book in the original series followed the formula of the first Each book opens with framed endpapers” (Eastman 62-63). Though Puffin Books and Viking Press are both trademarks of Penguin Group, Inc., the copy of *Madeline* in London, published by Puffin Books, slightly alters the presentation of the endpapers. Puffin Books does not place the endpaper illustrations at the ends of the book. Instead, one page separates the front cover from the endpaper. Is this an attempt to establish the endpaper illustration as truly part of the story, as something more than its role of hiding the transition between the cover and the pages? Either way, the drawing further distinguishes itself, because “rather than offering a multi-colored view of the story’s setting, the endpapers present an expressionistic, solid-red picture of London; the tail of a plane bearing the little girls breaks the frame, seemingly entering the picture” (Eastman 80). While the image embodies the Expressionist style of capturing a moment, such as a plane speeding towards a destination, the image also breaks with the other *Madeline* books, in which the frame is typically not broken.

Repetition, as seen in Bemelmans’ *Madeline*, also dominates the picture book, *Brown Bear, Brown Bear, What Do You See?*, by Bill Martin Jr. Emphasizing the sequence of the animals mentioned in the book, the stripes of color on the endpapers serve as an instructional guide to children as they try to remember the list of animals and their colors. By matching the correct color with the correct animal, the children learn the names of the colors and how to handle “cumulative tales” (Lima and Lima 1054). Thus, when the children see the red stripe come after the brown stripe, as exhibited on the first page of this essay, they will know that after the brown bear comes the red bird and so on.

Eric Carle, the illustrator for *Brown Bear, Brown Bear, What Do You See?*, also wrote his own story, *A Very Hungry Caterpillar*. Upon opening the cover, the reader immediately sees a splash of bright colors, as exhibited on the previous page. Torn sheets of colored paper deformed by holes lay haphazardly across the double spread page resembling the numerous holes the caterpillar devours in the story. The colorful paper

also resembles the “joyous explosion of color, a vibrant affirmation of the wonder and beauty of Nature” as the caterpillar turned butterfly expands its brilliant wings at the end (Carle dust cover). Carle’s “illustrations are a collage of multicolored tissue paper which he paints over to create texture and variety” (Kingman, Hogarth, and Quimby 204). The color then serves to snare the reader’s attention and allows them to see all the beautiful colors present in nature.

Often overlooked, endpapers serve more than to seamlessly cover the transition from paper to binding. They are an important part of the picture book. Color, layout, shapes, and repetition all draw the reader into the story. Opening the book, anticipation of what is to come spurs the reader onward. Closing the book, the reader reflects on his or her experience and what he or she has learned. In this fashion, the endpapers serve an integral part in books, such as *Paddington Bear*, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, *Madeline*, and *A Very Hungry Caterpillar*, where readers can lose themselves in another world, just by opening the cover and looking at the endpaper.

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Stealing Themselves

Enslaved Virginians and Lord Dunmore's Proclamation

by Daniel C. Newcomb

The Revolutionary history most Virginians know today revolves around the actions of White men, mainly wealthy White men. While the actions of men like Washington and Jefferson were indeed important, they would be particularly shocked by the widespread modern notion that the colonies rebelled solely over taxation. Some origins of Virginia's Revolution were quite non-ideological, specifically when it came to the fear of their own slaves. In 1775 some 40 percent of Virginia's population was enslaved. Crown Governor Lord Dunmore recognized this as the colony's greatest weakness, but was hesitant to offer emancipation until absolutely convinced to do so. Utilizing a wealth of primary sources such as runaway ads, court proceedings, newspapers, letters, and government documents; "Stealing Themselves" seeks to show a more accurate picture of Virginia's Revolution and Dunmore's Proclamation. A picture in which enslaved Virginians acted first to secure their freedom, without encouragement from British officials. Dunmore's Proclamation did not create slave rebelliousness; it only sought to turn extant slave rebelliousness to British favor. The actions of enslaved Virginians not only helped to begin armed conflict in Revolutionary Virginia, but also pushed Governor Dunmore to become the first British official to offer emancipation.

Maxwell's Miscellaneous papers on... Manning on the Diseases of Pregnant and Child-bed Women. Medical Observations and Inquiries, by a Society of Physicians in London, 3 V. Moore's Practical Navigator and Seaman's New Daily Assistant. Martin's English Dictionary. Malton's Poems. Macpherson's Translation of the Works of Ossian the Son of Fingal, 2 V. Nugent's Life of Cellini, a Florentine Artist, containing a Variety of entertaining Particulars relative to Painting, Sculpture, and Agriculture, 2 V. Nugent's Observations on Italy and its Inhabitants, 2 V. Nelson's Festivals and Fairs on the Church of England. Noble's Elements of Linear Perspective, demonstrated by Geometrical Principles. Nettleton on Virtue and Happiness. Prideaux' History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations, from the Declensions of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the Time of Christ, 2 V.

through the North of England, 4 V. Dictionary. DECEMO S. Miscellaneous Works in prose and verse, 4 V. Gazetteer, 3 V. Adventures of a Jesuit, with several remarkable Characters and Scenes in real Life, 2 V. Agreeable Ugliness, or the Triumph of the Graces. Apocrypha. Alleine's, Alarm to Unconverted Sinners. Bunyan's, Law and Grace unfolded. Holy War. Heart's Ease in Heart's Trouble. Boston's Fourfold State of Human Nature. Buchanan's Introduction to a Grammar School Education. British Grammar. Bollingbroke's Miscellaneous Works, 4 V. Brown's Sunday Thoughts. Bracken's Farrier, or Complete Horle Doctor, 2 V. Midwifery. Balbe Berton's, Life Brown's Pastoral W. Boyle's Receipts in Physic. Brightland's English Grammar. Boyle's Pantheon or Fabulous History of the Heathen Gods. Baxter's Call to Unconverted Sinners. Book of Knowledge. Cressall, or the Adventures of a Gentleman

Courtesy of Daniel Newcomb

On September 2, 1775, an advertisement appeared in John Dixon and William Hunter's *Virginia Gazette* regarding Edward Moseley's escaped slave: "Run away last Night from the Subscriber... a likely young negro fellow named Daniel, about 18 Years of Age," who took with him "two young negro boys, Jack and Peter." Moseley assumed that Daniel was "lurking about Norfolk, or gone to Hampton" where he could try to board a ship to carry him out of the colony.¹ Daniel, like thousands of other enslaved Virginians in 1775, considered the risks of running away. If captured, Daniel would return to his master where he could have faced the possibility of corporal punishment for his disobedience. Success, however, meant freedom, and to eighteen-year-old Daniel freedom was worth the risk.

Weeks later, on November 14, 1775, the Crown Governor of Virginia, John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, issued a proclamation declaring Virginia in an official state of rebellion. Dunmore's Proclamation placed the colony under martial law, pronounced all patriots traitors, and called loyal citizens to take up arms for the crown or otherwise be branded traitors. Dunmore's most radical step, however, was to make official a policy he had quietly pursued for months: "I do hereby further declare all indented Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels), free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His Majesty's Troops as soon as may be."² This official offer of freedom, albeit a limited offer, was only part of a process that had begun much earlier. Enslaved Virginians did not wait to respond to Dunmore's Proclamation and its promises of freedom. They acted to secure their freedom before the governor even threatened to emancipate slaves. Instead, Governor Dunmore issued his Proclamation largely in response to the actions of enslaved Virginians.

Two factors likely dominated Governor Dunmore's decision to issue his proclamation. The first was widespread fear amongst White Virginians of slave insurrections. Dunmore capitalized on this fear, using it as weapon to panic White society. This panic would force White Virginians to spread their forces thin in order to suppress possible insurrections of slaves emboldened by the governor's promises. In fact, rebelliousness amongst enslaved Virginians was increasing long before November 14, 1775, and although the governor may have heightened slave rebelliousness with his Proclamation, he certainly did not create it. Instead, Dunmore only sought to turn extant slave rebelliousness

in his favor. The second factor dominating Dunmore's decision was the number of slaves who fled their masters to join British ranks. These slaves did not wait for Governor Dunmore to offer them freedom. They began to run away and resist their masters as early as April 1775, long before Dunmore had hinted at the possibility of offering freedom to slaves. Without the actions of enslaved Virginians, Dunmore's Proclamation would have carried no significance at all.

Contrary to popular belief, Blacks were not passive spectators in the revolutionary conflict, they were an active force that shaped and influenced the course of the conflict. At the outbreak of hostilities, in 1775, Virginia had more slaves than any other mainland British colony. Enslaved Blacks comprised some 40 percent of the colony's entire population, which numbered around 188,000 individuals.³ With such a large and restive enslaved population, Whites were in constant fear of slave insurrection and rebelliousness.

Enslaved Virginians resisted their conditions in a variety of ways. Some forms of resistance, such as faking illnesses, wasting time, destroying a master's property, and truancy were quite simple. Violent forms of resistance, however, did occur. Arson, suicide, poisoning, rape, insurrection, and murder were all forms of violent resistance to slave society.⁴ Although estimates indicate that less than one percent of enslaved Virginians resorted to killing Whites, Blacks had violently resisted frequently enough to keep their masters in constant fear. Records even suggest that conviction rates of slaves implicated in violent confrontations with their masters rose through the 1740s to the 1770s.⁵ White Virginians were well aware of the number of enslaved individuals in the colony and the possibility of insurrection particularly struck fear in their minds. They felt exceptionally vulnerable during times of war. The outbreak of the French and Indian War presented Blacks with an opportunity to secure their freedom and Virginia experienced a surge in slave rebelliousness. In 1756, Virginia's Governor, Robert Dinwiddie, wrote that "We [Virginians] dare not venture to part with any of our White Men any distances, as we must have a watchful eye over our Negro slaves."⁶

3. Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 115; Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 16.

4. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 53-60.

5. Philip J. Schwarz, *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 143-144.

6. James Titus, *The Old Dominion at War: Society, Politics, and Warfare in Late Colonial Virginia* (Columbia: University of South

1. John Dixon and William Hunter. *Virginia Gazette*, September 2, 1775.

2. *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence, Vol. V*, ed. Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), 334.

By far one of the most common forms of resistance attempted by enslaved individuals was running away. It is unclear exactly how many slaves ran away during the colonial period, where they went, or if they were ultimately successful in achieving their goals. The best sources of information about runaway slaves appeared in colonial newspapers through advertisements posted by masters seeking the return of their property. These advertisements not only indicate that masters were remarkably well informed about the whereabouts of their slaves, but also that runaways often had one of three motives in mind.⁷ The first was to reunite with friends or relatives on other plantations, sometimes plantations on which the escaped individual had lived previously. Second, many runaways traveled to towns to attempt to hire themselves out and pass as free men. Third, some attempted to secure their freedom by boarding ships leaving the colonies or by fleeing into the western backcountry, where they hoped to establish themselves or seek haven with sympathetic Indian nations.⁸

By 1775, as Gerald Mullin argues, many enslaved Virginians clearly saw the British as White men with a significantly different view of slavery than their masters.⁹ As early as 1773 advertisements began to appear in Virginia newspapers from owners seeking the return of runaways whom they believed would try to secure passage to Great Britain to obtain their freedom. One particular slave owner from Augusta County, Gabriel Jones thought his slave Bacchus would “endeavour to pass as a Freeman” in order to “Board some Vessel bound for Great Britain.” Jones presumed that Bacchus was motivated by his “late Determination of Somerset’s Case” to escape.¹⁰

James Somerset was taken from Africa and enslaved in 1749. He was later sold to a prominent Virginia merchant named Charles Steuart, then residing in Norfolk. In 1769 Steuart took Somerset with him to Great Britain, where Somerset ran away two years later. Upon capturing his property, Steuart decided to sell Somerset back into slavery. Fortunately for Somerset, abolitionists in London petitioned on his behalf to Lord Mansfield, the Chief Justice of the Court of the King’s Bench, to obtain his freedom.¹¹ In the court’s decision Mansfield ruled that masters could not capture

their slaves in England and hold them against their will with the intent to sell them outside of England. Mansfield further extended the writ of habeas corpus to slaves, preventing slaves from being seized by their masters.¹² This decision, for all effective purposes, set free all Blacks brought to England as slaves. News of Lord Mansfield’s decision was published throughout the colonies. While White Virginians had a clearly negative reaction to the news, many enslaved Virginians, like Bacchus, were inspired by the news.

Perhaps more worrisome for White Virginians than Mansfield’s decision was that slaves, like Bacchus, also knew about the decision. Although no precise figures of slave literacy exist, recent scholarship on literacy rates among Virginia runaways has shown that around 5.4 percent of all runaways in the years between 1770 and 1776 were known to be literate.¹³ The number of literate or semi-literate slaves, however, was probably higher than White Virginians suspected. Teaching slaves to read or write was illegal in Virginia, and many literate slaves probably concealed this knowledge from their masters. Furthermore, unbeknown to their masters, literate slaves were teaching other enslaved individuals.¹⁴ Literate slaves could have read newspapers and transmitted that information to other enslaved individuals. Reading, however, was not the only way enslaved Virginians learned of colonial issues. It would have been easy enough to eavesdrop on White conversations. Household slaves certainly had numerous opportunities to do so. Blacks were constantly present in the homes of the wealthy. If White Virginians complained about the Somerset Case over dinner, Blacks would undoubtedly be near enough to hear. Enslaved individuals quickly spread any news to other slaves and nearby plantations. As two masters from Georgia told John Adams, “The Negroes have a wonderful Art of communicating Intelligence among themselves. It will run several hundred Miles in a Week or Fortnight.”¹⁵

Sensing the coming storm of war, many enslaved Virginians acted to make the situation beneficial for themselves. As early as November 24, 1774, James Madison worried of an “Insurrection among the slaves” if war broke out between the colonies and Great Britain. Writing to his friend William

Carolina Press, 1991), 77-78.

7. Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial America, 1619-1776* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 64-69.

8. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 106.

9. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 131.

10. Alexander Purdie and John Dixon. *Virginia Gazette*, June 30, 1774.; also cited in Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 131.

11. George van Cleve, “Somerset’s Case” and Its Antecedents in Imperial Perspective,” *Law and History Review*, 24, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 601-602.

12. Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, Vol. 1* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 4-5.

13. Antonio Bly, “‘Pretends he can read’: Runaways and Literacy in Colonial America, 1730-1776,” *Early American Studies*, 6, no. 2 (2008), 267.

14. Bly, “‘Pretends he can read’”, 283.

15. Ray Raphael, *A People’s History of the American Revolution: How the Common People Shaped the Fight for Independence* (New York: The New Press, 2001), 257.

Bradford, Madison said that some slaves in his county had met to select a leader “to conduct them when the English Troops should arrive.” Madison added that these slaves believed that “by revolting to them [the British] they should be rewarded with their freedom” and that the slaves thought such a time would come “very soon.”¹⁶ While slaves in Madison’s county were supposedly aligning with the British, it is important to remember that these slaves were probably not loyalists. Although significant numbers of slaves fought within British ranks or sided with British forces during the revolutionary conflict, most were not loyalists fighting to maintain royal authority. Instead, slaves fought for themselves.

Five months after Madison conveyed his worries of insurrection, in mid-April 1775, enslaved Virginians made their first moves to secure their freedom, and rumors of slave unrest swirled along the James River watershed. On April 15, a Prince Edward County slave named Toney was charged with insurrection and received fifteen lashes for his crime. On April 18, Chesterfield County residents were “alarm’d for an Insurrection of the slaves,” whereupon the Chesterfield slave patrol was quickly strengthened.¹⁷ Days later one *Virginia Gazette* reported that on April 21, two negroes were tried in Norfolk for “being concerned in a conspiracy to raise an insurrection in that town.”¹⁸ Finally, within the city of Williamsburg, Edmund Pendleton reported to George Washington on April 21, that citizens were alarmed because there had been “some disturbances in the City, by the *Slaves*.”¹⁹

In the midst of this slave unrest in the colony, Virginia’s Governor Lord Dunmore, concerned about rebellious patriot attitudes in the capital, ordered the removal of powder from Williamsburg’s Powder Magazine onto British ships in the Chesapeake Bay. Early on the morning of April 21, 1775, under the cover of darkness, a detachment of royal marines removed fifteen half-barrels of gunpowder from the magazine and secured them upon a British warship.²⁰ Many Virginians thought that the timing of the removal was no coincidence. They believed that Dunmore “designed, by disarming the people, to weaken the means of opposing an

insurrection of the slaves, whom he purposed to invite to his standard, and for a protection against whom in part the magazine was at first built.”²¹

By dawn, angry Williamsburg citizens had begun to gather on the green in front of the Governor’s Palace demanding the return of the powder to the magazine. Unwilling to provoke action, city officials asserted authority over the crowd and met with Governor Dunmore.²² Surprisingly Dunmore told the officials that he removed the powder to a safer location out of the reach of rebellious slaves, who planned “an insurrection in a neighbouring county.” He was also surprised that “the people were under arms on this occasion” and that it was not “prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation.”²³ City officials backed down. The danger of a colony wide slave insurrection seemed all too real given the rumors of the previous week. Returning to the crowd assembled in front of the Governor’s Palace, the officials convinced the angry citizens to disperse. Governor Dunmore had conveniently used White fear of slave insurrection to placate angry Williamsburg citizens and Virginia’s radical leaders. Whether it was true or not, Dunmore told the city officials that he was ready and willing to put down any slave insurrection, but only if the mob desisted in making threats to the royal government.

Williamsburg reportedly lapsed into a period of tranquility until the next day, when “a Report was spread about by his Excellency’s throwing out some threats respecting the Slaves.”²⁴ On the morning of April 22, the day after the “powder plot,” William Pasteur, a Williamsburg physician, was called to attend to an unknown patient at the Governor’s Palace. Pasteur reported that, during the visit, Governor Dunmore confronted him and divulged that “if any injury or insult was offer’d himself, he would declare freedom to the slaves and reduce the City of Williamsburg to ashes.” The doctor further stated that the governor planned to “set up the Royal standard” for “White People and all slaves siding with the government.” Dunmore wanted this to leak; so he instructed Pasteur to tell what he had said to the “the Gentlemen of the Town.”²⁵

This, however, was not the first time Governor Dunmore

16. James Madison to William Bradford, *The Papers of James Madison*, Vol. 1, ed. William T. Hutchinson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 30.

17. Raphael, *A People’s History of the American Revolution*, 245.

18. John Dixon and William Hunter, *Virginia Gazette*, April 29, 1775 supplement.

19. Edmund Pendleton, *The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton, 1734-1803*, Vol. I, ed. David John Mays (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1967), 102.

20. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 143.

21. Edmund Randolph, *History of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970), 219.

22. Ivor Noël Hume, *1775: Another Part of the Field* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), 142-143.

23. Alexander Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, April 21, 1775 supplement.

24. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1773-1776, 233.

25. “Deposition of Dr. William Pasteur. In Regard to the Removal of the Powder from the Williamsburg Magazine,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII, no. 1 (1905): 49-50.

had realized the value of arming slaves and encouraging their insurrection to subdue the colony. As early as May 1772, Dunmore understood that enslaved Virginians represented a substantial segment of Virginia's population. In a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, Dunmore estimated, albeit incorrectly, that "the Negroes are double the number of White people in this colony." Dunmore further confided that, "in case of a war... the people [Virginians] with great reason tremble at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring such a body of men [slaves] attached by no tie to their masters or country." This was no surprise to the governor, who believed it was "natural to suppose their condition must inspire them [slaves] with an aversion to both." Dunmore concluded that enslaved Virginians would be "ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves, by which a conquest of this country would inevitably be effected in a very short time."²⁶

As Governor Dunmore had suspected they would be, enslaved Virginians were among the first individuals to respond to his threats. Reportedly, as soon as the day after Dunmore and Pasteur's meeting, a group of slaves appeared at the door of the Governor's Mansion offering to join Dunmore and "take up arms" with him. This group of slaves left disappointed when the governor declined their services and ordered them "to go about their business."²⁷ Perhaps Dunmore turned this group of slaves away because he was not yet ready to follow through with his threats. Maybe he still had hopes of solidifying royal authority in the colony through other peaceful means. Regardless of Dunmore's motives at the time, he now knew that enslaved Virginians would react quickly to grasp an opportunity to secure freedom. His prediction to the Earl of Hillsborough was proving true.

White Virginians also reacted to Dunmore's threats. On April 28, Governor Dunmore learned that militia companies from Fredericksburg intended to march to Williamsburg against him. Doctor Pasteur was again called to the Governor's Mansion, where he was confronted by the governor a second time. Dunmore told Pasteur that "if a large Body of People come below *Ruffin's Ferry* (a place about thirty Miles from this City) that he would immediately enlarge his plan, and carry it into execution."²⁸ Those who had dismissed Dunmore's previous threat of arming slaves as impulsive now feared that the governor actually would follow through with his threat.

26. Governor Earl of Dunmore to Earl of Hillsborough, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783: Colonial Office Series*, Vol. V, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1974), 94-95.

27. "Deposition of J. Randolph," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII, no. 1 (1905): 149-150.

28. Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1773-1776, 231.

For Dunmore, these threats were not impulsive, and he was more than serious about freeing enslaved Virginians if the need arose. Days later, in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth on May 1, Dunmore revealed that it was his "fixed purpose to arm all my own Negroes and receive all others that will come to me whom I shall declare free."²⁹

Governor Dunmore, however, would make one last effort to restore royal authority to the colony. In early June 1775, he received instructions to call a meeting of the legislature to vote on a conciliatory resolution from the British Prime Minister, Lord North. North's resolution proposed that if the colonies paid for their own administration and defense, Parliament would not impose any extra duties except those necessary for the regulation of commerce.³⁰ Unfortunately the situation quickly turned when, on June 3, a group of men attempted to break into Williamsburg's powder magazine. Unknown to the intruders, the entrance had been rigged with a spring-loaded shot-gun, which discharged and wounded all three men.³¹ Virginia newspapers assisted in raising public anger against royal authority. Purdie's *Gazette* called the governor and British forces in Williamsburg murderers.³² Dixon and Hunter's newspaper accused Dunmore of "contriving" the spring-loaded weapons used in the magazine.³³ Williamsburg citizens wasted no time in responding; they soon stormed the magazine to take what powder and arms were left.

By June 8, Governor Dunmore considered the situation too volatile and unsafe for himself and his family to remain in the capital. The governor abandoned Williamsburg for safety aboard the *Fowey*, a British ship on the James River.³⁴ Dunmore's flight caused uncertainty in Williamsburg and created a power vacuum that was quickly filled by rebel leaders. By June 1775, loyalists in the Assembly had already disassociated themselves with Virginia's governing bodies, leaving moderates and radicals in control. Although the absence of loyalists helped to radicalize the Burgesses, Dunmore's escape from Williamsburg only angered moderates who may have been willing to cooperate with crown officials to avoid a military conflict. Moderates and radicals in Virginia's Assembly began to bond over

29. Governor Earl of Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783: Colonial Office Series*, Vol. IX, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1975), 109.

30. Michael Kranish, *Flight from Monticello: Thomas Jefferson at War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 58.

31. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, June 9, 1775, supplement.

32. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, June 9, 1775, supplement.

33. John Dixon and William Hunter, *Virginia Gazette*, June 10, 1775.

34. Kranish, *Flight from Monticello*, 59.

dissatisfaction with crown officials such as Governor Dunmore. Perhaps the factor that united Virginia leaders the most was the governor's repeated threats to free and arm slaves if patriot leaders pushed him into a corner. The prospect of armed slaves rising against their White masters struck fear into radicals, moderates, and slave owning loyalists. Governor Dunmore even boasted that "My declaration that I would arm and set free such slaves as should assist me if I was attacked has stirred up fears in them [Virginians] which cannot easily subside as they know how vulnerable they are."³⁵

Throughout the summer of 1775, enslaved Virginians continued to flee their masters to seek protection with Governor Dunmore, who began to quietly welcome runaways. Even though their hopes of a general emancipation had not yet been realized, large numbers of slaves risked their lives to find British lines. By June, advertisements for runaway slaves from all parts of the colony dominated Virginia newspapers. Twenty-one-year old Jonathan from New Kent ran away from his master on June 8 and was seen in Yorktown, where he was "intending to make his Escape out of the Colony."³⁶ Jamie from Yorktown stole himself on the night of June 28, whereupon his master also supposed that he would attempt to board a ship to take him out of the colony.³⁷

Enslaved Virginians in the Norfolk area, in particular, attempted to gain their freedom. According to Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette*, Norfolk citizens were concerned about "the elopement of their negroes owing to a mistaken notion which was unhappily spread among them of finding shelter on board the men of war in this harbor."³⁸ The Norfolk Committee of Safety was convinced that British ships at Norfolk had been "promoting a disaffection among the slaves" and had been concealing them "for a considerable time on board their vessels."³⁹ Even Norfolk slaves who did not run away were silently supportive of the British. On September 30, a party of seventeen British soldiers marched to the printing office of the patriot printer John Holt. Finding that Holt was not there, the soldiers proceeded to carry off

type and other "printing implements" and arrested two of Holt's workmen. Marching back to their boats, the British soldiers "giving three huzzas, in which a crowd of Negroes joined, embarked with their two prisoners."⁴⁰ If Norfolk citizens were not already worried about their slaves escaping to Dunmore, their fears only deepened when they realized that those slaves who remained were silently supportive of the British cause.

Fugitive slaves proved a valuable asset to Governor Dunmore in a variety of ways. Undoubtedly the addition of fugitive slaves helped to bolster British numbers and strengthened the resolve of those fighting within British ranks. When armed, Black Virginians could not only fight within the ranks to strengthen Dunmore's military power, but they would also be a visible threat to Virginia leaders who may have feared the prospect of armed slaves more than they feared Governor Dunmore. These fugitives were also valuable because of their knowledge of local geography, which the British used to execute successful raids upon waterfront towns and plantations. One of these fugitives, a "small mulatto man" from Hampton, Joseph Harris, stole himself in July 1775. Harris found refuge upon the British schooner *Liberty* and became a member of the ship's crew. Due to his nautical knowledge and his familiarity with Virginia's coastal geography, Harris quickly rose through the ranks to become the ship's pilot.⁴¹

Even though enslaved Virginians joined British forces in significant numbers and contributed in valuable ways throughout that summer and fall, Governor Dunmore remained unwilling to issue an official proclamation of emancipation. Then, in mid-November, Dunmore decided to move against patriot forces congregating in the area around Norfolk. On November 13, a force of about 130, including regulars and Black volunteers, advanced on Kemp's Landing, ten miles outside Norfolk, where perhaps 200 to 300 patriot militiamen had gathered. Although the Patriots outnumbered the British, they attempted to ambush the British and fired too early, allowing the regulars to charge and scatter the Virginians.⁴²

This "most trifling success" at Kemp's Landing finally gave Governor Dunmore the confidence he needed. On November 14, Dunmore determined "to run all risks" and ordered the "proclamation to be published."⁴³ Although

35. Governor Earl of Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783: Colonial Office Series*, Vol. IX, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1975), 204.

36. John Dixon and William Hunter, *Virginia Gazette*, June 17, 1775.

37. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, July 7, 1775.

38. Pinkney, *Virginia Gazette*, August 3, 1775.

39. Norfolk Borough Committee to Peyton Randolph, *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, Vol. III, ed. Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 378.

40. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk Historic Southern Port* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1962), 54.

41. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 133-135.

42. McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 133.

43. Governor Earl of Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, *Documents of*

the governor was probably encouraged by the number of enslaved individuals who had already joined him, Dunmore must have remained hesitant to take the final step towards emancipation. It was not until he was emboldened by victory, in which Black volunteers took part, that Governor Dunmore found the confidence to offer emancipation to slaves willing to provide military service.

Unsurprisingly, White Virginians were furious at Dunmore's Proclamation. Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* dubbed Dunmore "King of the Blacks."⁴⁴ One anonymous Williamsburg man wrote, "Whoever considers well the meaning of the word Rebel, will discover that the author of the Proclamation is now himself in actual rebellion, having armed our slaves against us, and having excited them to an insurrection."⁴⁵ Another anonymous writer declared that, "Not in the legions of horrid hell, can come a devil more damn'd in evils to top D****e."⁴⁶ George Washington even wrote that if Dunmore was not "crushed before Spring, he will become the most formidable Enemy America has – his strength will Increase as a Snow ball by Rolling."⁴⁷ Dunmore's Proclamation also angered slave owning loyalists and pushed them into a difficult corner. Although the Proclamation only applied to slaves owned by rebel masters, and protected the enslaved property of loyalists, Dunmore's promise to free slaves in return for their service in the British army made numerous patriots out of loyalists.

White leaders swiftly hurried to issue grim warnings to their slaves considering Governor Dunmore's offer of emancipation. When Alexander Purdie published a copy of the Proclamation in his gazette, he followed it with an address to the colony's enslaved population written by an unnamed Virginian. The address stressed to slaves that Dunmore's Proclamation left the "aged, the infirm, the women, and the children... to remain property of their masters, who will be provoked to severity, should part of their slaves desert them." The writer further warned that those "weak enough to believe that Lord Dunmore intends to do them a kindness" should consider "what they must expect to suffer if they fall into the hands of the Americans."⁴⁸ Other newspapers published reports of Dunmore mistreating his own slaves and spread rumors that the governor would sell fugitive slaves back into

the American Revolution, 1770-1783: Colonial Office Series, Vol. XII, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1976), 59.

44. Pinkney, *Virginia Gazette*, November 16, 1775.

45. McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 135.

46. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, November 24, 1775.

47. George Washington to Richard Henry Lee, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, Vol. 2, ed. W. W. Abbott (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987), 611.

48. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, November 24, 1775.

bondage in the West Indies.⁴⁹ Leaders at the Fourth Virginia Convention, in December 1775, warned that "all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection, shall suffer death, and be excluded all benefit of clergy." The leaders also offered pardons to any slaves who abandoned Dunmore and returned to their masters. The Convention's declaration concluded with instructions for masters to make the punishments for running to Dunmore known to their slaves, in the hope of reducing rising slave rebelliousness.⁵⁰

Dunmore's Proclamation may have received a surprisingly mixed reaction from enslaved Virginians. It was not the general emancipation that many slaves hoped for. Instead, the Proclamation offered freedom only to those who were able to bear arms and fight alongside British forces. This excluded the elderly, children, and women who could not serve. Certainly this would have forced many able bodied slaves to reconsider escape. Successful escape could result in freedom, but the runaway would leave behind family and friends who could not take advantage of the Proclamation. Also, Dunmore only promised freedom to slaves owned by rebel masters, leaving those owned by loyalists in chains. Perhaps, a general emancipation of slaves could have created much more slave resistance and rebelliousness throughout the colony. That, however, may have been too radical even for Lord Dunmore, who was himself a slave owner.

The difficulty of reaching Lord Dunmore could have also created mixed reactions amongst enslaved Virginians. Running away already had its risks, and it became even riskier throughout 1775. Slaves were already forbidden to travel without signed consent from their owners, and those Blacks moving about after April 1775 were sure to be stopped if they ran into a White Virginian. Heightened fear of slave insurrection also prompted Virginia leaders to double slave patrols and station militias throughout the Chesapeake.⁵¹ Fugitives hoping to reach Dunmore had to make the long journey to the small area around Norfolk that British forces occupied. A fugitive slave would have to successfully leave his master's plantation, travel many miles undetected, avoid slave patrols or county militias, and sometimes secure a small boat to navigate through Virginia waterways to reach Norfolk or British ships in the Chesapeake Bay. Promises of vengeance from White leaders may have forced many slaves to reconsider escape. If captured, they faced the possibility of death, corporal punishment, that they could be sold off to

49. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, November 17, 1775.

50. *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, Vol. V, ed. Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1979), 139.

51. Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 10-11.

the West Indies, or be sent to salt mines in Virginia's western mountains.⁵² Perhaps most frightening was the possibility that masters could take out their anger on the family or friends of a runaway.

Regardless of these difficulties and threats from their White masters, some enslaved Virginians did accept Dunmore's offer. For these slaves Dunmore's Proclamation not only created the perfect circumstances to escape but also provided a concrete offer of freedom. Many slaves who ran away probably had pre-existing reasons to do so. Gilbert, a slave from Caroline County, may have taken advantage of Dunmore's Proclamation to escape in late December 1775. His owner, John Evans, remarked that Gilbert had "a large scar on his breast occasioned by whipping."⁵³ Certainly Gilbert would have wanted to escape a cruel master for years, but a favorable situation to escape had not presented itself until November 1775.

By the end of November, Dunmore reported to British commander, General William Howe, that "the negroes are also flocking in from all quarters, which I hope will oblige the rebels to disperse to take care of their families and property." The governor's letter further reported that "two to three hundred [runaways] already come in and these I form into a corps as fast as they come."⁵⁴ Those fugitives who were successful in reaching British lines were quickly ushered into formal military units. Dunmore organized two new regiments: one of White loyalists, dubbed the "Queen's own Loyal Virginia Regiment," and the other a Black regiment called "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment." Along with a musket and ammunition, each member of the Ethiopian Regiment was issued a British uniform with the inscription "Liberty to Slaves" emblazoned across the chest; a parody of patriot uniforms adorned with the words "Liberty or Death."⁵⁵ It is unknown exactly how many slaves joined Dunmore. The governor's own reckoning, along with estimates from other historians, suggests the number was probably between 800 and 1,500 slaves.⁵⁶

Dunmore's supremacy would not last long. On December 9, he ordered an attack on patriot forces stationed at Great

Bridge, about ten miles south of Norfolk. Upon their arrival a few days earlier the British had established a fortification on one side of the 120-foot-long bridge facing fortified patriot units under Colonel William Woodford. Although outnumbered, Dunmore ordered his 600 man force, among whom were between 300 and 400 Blacks, to advance across the bridge to drive the rebels out of their position. This proved a disastrous mistake. Woodford's 700 man force easily defeated the British regulars and their Black comrades. Dunmore was forced to retreat, and in the following weeks the British were finally forced to vacate Norfolk.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the story did not end happily for many formerly enslaved Virginians with Dunmore. Throughout 1776 British ships in the Chesapeake continued to harass patriot ships and raided waterfront Virginia towns and plantations. Ship life, however, deprived those on board of proper shelter, adequate food, fresh water, and sanitary conditions. Disease flourished in these close unsanitary environments. In March 1776 Governor Dunmore reported to Lord George Germain that the recruitment of Blacks had been going in "great forwardness" until a fever, probably smallpox, "crept in amongst them which carried off a great many very fine fellows."⁵⁸ The plague persisted for months and by June, Dunmore admitted defeat, claiming that the fever had "carried off an incredible number of our people, especially the Blacks."⁵⁹ Unfortunately the arrival of new runaways probably only prolonged the epidemic, as those new arrivals would have quickly succumbed to the disease. Ravaged by disease and unable to establish a permanent base of operations, Dunmore and his British fleet sailed out of the Chesapeake on August 7. Sailing out of Virginia with Governor Dunmore were 200 to 300 Black Virginians, far less than the estimated 800 to 1,500 runaways that were with Dunmore only six months earlier.⁶⁰

Many of the runaways who survived did, however, find freedom. Surviving members of Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment would either continue to serve with the British or reside in New York for the remainder of the war. When the war ended and the British withdrew from New York, many of these Blacks were evacuated and settled in Nova Scotia. The young slave Jack, who stole himself from his master

52. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 136.

53. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, January 19, 1776.

54. Purdie, *Virginia Gazette*, January 26, 1776.

55. Hume, 1775, 399.

56. Holton, *Forced Founders*, 136.; McDonnell, *Politics of War*, 140.; Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 131.; Cassandra Pybus, "Jefferson's Faulty Math: The Question of Slave Defections in the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 62, no. 2 (2005): 243-264.; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 28.

57. Tommy Lee Bogger, *The Slave and Free Black Community in Norfolk, 1775-1865* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1976), 24-25.

58. Governor Earl of Dunmore to Lord George Germain, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783: Colonial Office Series*, Vol. XII, ed. K. G. Davies (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1976), 101.

59. Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, 30.

60. Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 20.

Edward Hack Moseley along with another slave Daniel, found his freedom. After passing as a free man, Jack joined Dunmore's Regiment in 1776 and served in the British navy for nearly nine years until he was indicted for impersonating a fellow seaman to receive extra wages. As punishment he was sent to Australia, where he was eventually pardoned and granted land. The last record of Jack shows that in 1823 he was a prominent dealer in Essex Lane, Sydney, employing three women as his servants.⁶¹

The contributions of enslaved individuals to Virginia's revolutionary history cannot be understated. Representing 40 percent of the colony's population, enslaved Virginians played an active role in shaping the course of the Revolutionary conflict. Slaves had resisted their conditions in a variety of ways and resisted frequently enough to keep a constant undercurrent of fear in Virginia's White population. Governor Dunmore quickly understood that Virginia's large, restive enslaved population was the colony's greatest weakness, and he viewed them as a natural ally if the colony ever needed to be subdued. If enslaved Virginians had remained passive, neither Dunmore's threats to free slaves in April 1775 nor his Proclamation in November 1775 would have carried much significance.

Even before Governor Dunmore threatened to arm and free slaves, enslaved Virginians had already gathered to decide how to take advantage of a military conflict between the colonies and Great Britain. When Dunmore threatened to free and arm slaves in April 1775, runaways responded quickly, arriving on his doorstep within a day of issuing his threat. Upon Dunmore's evacuation of Williamsburg, runaways continued to escape to the Governor's Palace and began to seek refuge on British ships. Even though the governor was reluctant to openly offer emancipation, he quietly accepted increasing numbers of runaway slaves throughout the summer and fall of 1775. By early November Dunmore's forces were massively augmented by hundreds of escaped slaves. The number of fugitives who joined Dunmore and their performance in battle at Kemp's Landing finally convinced him to issue his Proclamation. Hundreds of enslaved Virginians risked their lives to reach Dunmore and fight for their freedom. Dunmore's Proclamation was a response to the actions of enslaved Virginians. It was the actions of enslaved Virginians that created Dunmore's Proclamation.

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61. Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, 214.

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Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

Leader of African Decolonization
by Thomas Norelli

Much historical research has been done regarding Haile Selassie in the context of his native Ethiopia; this paper will demonstrate that Selassie and his native Ethiopia were consistently interrelated with various aspects of the African decolonization movement. As an outspoken proponent of the Pan-African movement and leader of one of two sovereign nations on the continent at that time, his rhetoric and actions as Emperor of Ethiopia held importance and relevance outside the boundaries of his political jurisdiction. The conspicuous independent status that Selassie's Ethiopia held established the Emperor as an unofficial leader and spokesman for all of Africa on the global scale. Selassie's internationalization of Africa was furthered by his captivating speeches, political agenda for Ethiopia and skillful diplomatic relations with various world leaders from all corners of the globe. Although Selassie's Ethiopia was an independent nation during the period of African colonial rule, its history holds great relevance within the broader context of independence movements of the former colonies of Africa. Selassie conducted his administration of Ethiopia in order to develop his nation concurrently with the goals of the Pan-African movement within the overarching era of African decolonization, and his efforts were both pertinent and enduring in this regard.

Introduction

In the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of the African continent was carved up by major European powers for the purposes of colonization, imperialism, and/or annexation. This brief historical period would commonly become known as the “Scramble for Africa.” Ethiopia had successfully resisted Italian colonial forces in the Battle of Adwa on March 1, 1886, and retained its independent status as a national monarchy. Despite Ethiopia’s success in retaining its own sovereignty, the nation would still hold relevance to the greater African decolonization movement that began to gain momentum following World War II. Specifically, Emperor Haile Selassie I increased Ethiopia’s direct involvement with the African decolonization movement of the 20th century. Selassie ruled as Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930-1974, which is a time period that encompasses the majority of African decolonization movements.¹ Although Selassie came to power determined to accomplish the arduous task of transforming his native Ethiopia into a country worthy of international recognition, his actions and rhetoric demonstrate that Selassie also held the broader cause of the Pan-African movement as a priority on his political agenda.

There has been a significant amount of research done on Haile Selassie and how his reign shaped his nation throughout the 20th century within the context of Ethiopia. Although some parts of these research endeavors have touched briefly on Selassie in the context of African decolonization, there remains a distinct lack of historical research focused specifically on the role of this seminal African figure and his nation within the broader framework of the continent. Selassie was an outspoken proponent of the Pan-African movement, and, as the leader of one of two sovereign nations within Africa at that time, he emerged as a leader for the entire continent during this era. This augmented the relevance and importance of his speech and actions to a scale greater than that of the boundaries within his political jurisdiction. As he earned international recognition for Ethiopia, so did he for all of Africa. Selassie gained respect and developed a rapport with world leaders within Africa and outside of it. He utilized this reverence in order to “carry the banner” for Africa throughout his tenure as Emperor, as he simultaneously worked for the progress of Ethiopia and all of Africa. The available resources regarding Selassie and the history of Ethiopia during this time

do not properly acknowledge the priority he placed on the liberation of other African nations and progress of the entire continent of Africa. His contributions to the Pan-African movement were particularly pertinent at the time, and in some ways, still endure today.

The speeches of Haile Selassie, as well as records of his international relations on behalf of Ethiopia with various countries around the globe make clear that Selassie’s political agenda was conducted with the goal of progress for Africa and the Pan-African movement as priorities.² Some works have discussed the relevance that Ethiopia held to other African nations because of its conspicuous status as a sovereign African state, and relative historical importance to the continent, but neglected to acknowledge the progress Selassie made for Africa as Emperor of Ethiopia.³ Even more recently, scholars have begun to conduct historical research on Selassie’s involvement in international affairs as Emperor of Ethiopia and as a leader for the continent of Africa.⁴ However, there remains the lack of a definitive work of scholarly research that aims to specifically demonstrate how Selassie was relevant to African decolonization on every front—within Africa, throughout the globe, and as an active proponent of the Pan-African movement. Selassie’s speeches, actions, and written rhetoric make clear that Ethiopia under his leadership aimed to promote progress of the entire African continent by supporting the independence movements of colonized Africans and the support of continental unity via the Pan-African movement. As a seminal figure in the history of Africa during its era of decolonization, Selassie’s contributions in this context demand a consolidated and focused research effort all their own. This broader, continental perspective on Selassie’s Ethiopia warrants historical analysis now more than ever, as the repercussions of his reign concern what many consider to be a continent that will play an increasingly important role in world affairs in

2. Haile Selassie and Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, *Diplomatic Relations between Portugal and Ethiopia: texts of the letters exchanged between Emperor Hail'e Selassie and the Prime Minister of Portugal*, Doctor Oliveira Salazar (Lisbon: S.N.I., 1963); I. Daniel, *Visit Souvenir: A Publication in memory of the Visit of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, to the Ancient Chappad Orthodox Syrian Church, on 31st October 1956* (Washington, DC: S.I., 1956); Haile Selassie, *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967).

3. SKB Asante *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934-1941* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1977).

4. SKB Asante, *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934-1941* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1977).

1. Dietmar Rothermund, *The Routledge Companion to Decolonization* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 127-193.

the future.

Pan-Africanism Before Selassie

Although European powers were able to retain their African colonies for extended periods of time, the “scramble for Africa” would ultimately set the stage for the 20th century as the era of African decolonization. Some African nations would emerge as sovereign states as early as the 1920’s or 1930’s, while most of the newly formed African states would not be born until well after the end of World War II in 1945.⁵ Throughout the period of African decolonization, leaders would emerge from all corners of the continent; some of these leaders were concerned with gaining independence for their people, others were concerned with the internal development of their newly independent nation, a few were concerned with the progress of their nation and Africans on the international level, and some of them campaigned actively for multiple causes.⁶ In the midst of various independence movements and efforts to develop individual nations on the African continent, there emerged a movement to unite all Africans; this movement would become known in the 20th century as “Pan-Africanism.” This term had existed prior to the various movements for national independence in Africa; one that defined the movement to refute the charge of Africans’ unchangeable racial inequality. Pan-Africanism in the 20th century became redefined as the movement to unite all Africans, and was championed by various African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Gamal Abd El Nasser (Egypt), and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.⁷

Much historical research has been done on many of these leaders in the context of their respective nationalist movements, and in many cases in the context of their relevance to the Pan-African movement. For example, works such as “Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, and Africa’s Global Destiny” discuss at length the Ghana leader’s contribution to his nation of Ghana, as well as his

5. Egypt would gain independence in 1922, while South Africa would do so in 1931.

6. Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana, promoted progress within his nation in numerous capacities as well as helped to promote inter-African unity through his part through his work in the founding of the Organization of African Unity; Jomo Kenyatta, first President of Kenya, focused much of his efforts towards the progress of Kenya, with especially high focus on economic progress; Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia worked in numerous capacities for the betterment of Ethiopia, Africa, and the status of Africans on an international level.

7. Imanuel Geiss, “Pan Africanism”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4, no. 1 (1969): 187-200.

contributions to Africa.⁸ Haile Selassie is one of these African leaders whom many scholars have written on in the context of his relevance to the development of his native Ethiopia. For example, Peter Schwab has focused primarily on what Emperor Selassie did throughout his tenure for Ethiopia.⁹ Schwab is not the only one to take this approach to Selassie, as authors such as Christopher Clapham and Harold Marcus have also written scholarly works focused on the Selassie administration’s contributions to his nation’s progress.¹⁰ This is not to say that these scholars do not have segments of their research discussing Selassie’s relevance to the greater African decolonization movement, and some times, even more specifically devoted to his contribution towards the Pan-African movement. Indeed, Schwab has a small chapter titled “African Unity” in his book. There are very few, if any, historical research works that describe Selassie as a leader focused strictly on the progress of Ethiopia and only Ethiopia. Works such as those aforementioned discuss Selassie’s contributions to the Pan-African movement within the context of the national development of Ethiopia; however, these contributions were legitimate, effectual, and enduring enough outside of Ethiopia to warrant a focused examination that is not directly tied into the development of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is the oldest sovereign state on the continent of Africa. This long-standing independence holds profound importance in the era of focus for this paper—the era of African decolonization, when native peoples all over the African continent sought to throw off the fetters of imperialist European metropolitan powers and attain independence, a status that Ethiopia already held and had held for thousands of years at that point in its history.¹¹ By the end of the 19th century, after the European powers had carved up the great majority of the African continent for imperialist purposes, Ethiopia and Liberia remained the only two independent African

8. Charles Quist-Adade, “Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, and Africa’s Global Destiny”, *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 1, no. 9 (2007).

9. Peter Schwab, *Ethiopia & Haile Selassie* (New York: Facts on File Inc., 1972).

10. Christopher Clapham, *Haile Selassie’s Government* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969); Harold G. Marcus, *Haile Selassie I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

11. The geopolitical territory that encompassed the nation of Ethiopia in the 20th century had been through many political and territorial changes in the thousands of years prior, however the modern nation’s connection to the previous independent empires that ruled in this area stretches as far back as the 10th century BC, when the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon ruled over this territory; Haile Selassie was a direct descendant of this royal family.

nations.¹² Italy attempted to conquer the kingdom of Ethiopia in order to join its two African colonies of Eritrea and Somalia. However, Ethiopian forces defeated the Italians in the battle of Adwa, which took place in March of 1896. The fact that Ethiopia was successful in actively resisting colonization by a European nation, when no other African countries were able to do so, cemented Ethiopia's reputation as a leader among African peoples and their respective nations.

"Ethiopia" has long held a unique and powerful symbolic significance in the context of world history. A phrase from the Bible, "Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God," provides an early example of a phrase that would establish Ethiopia as a land to be revered, a land that would lead others.¹³ In this instance and throughout ancient times, "Ethiopia" referred to the entire continent of Africa. This phrase in the Bible serves as evidence of the symbolic value "Ethiopia" held within Africa and the world, even though "Ethiopia" did not necessarily refer to the state that goes by this name today. The connotation of the values attributed by this biblical phrasing, transposed onto the territory in the horn of Africa would eventually become known as "the Ethiopian Empire," and later abridged simply to "Ethiopia." It is important to note that despite the fact that "Ethiopia" evolved geopolitically over time, much of the symbolism associated with this term carried over to these newly founded state structures that emerged throughout history. For the purposes of this paper, unless otherwise noted, "Ethiopia" will refer to the state that existed in some form on the horn of Africa by this name from the 4th century through the present day.¹⁴ Although these symbolic connotations associated with "Ethiopia" do not hold the same tangible contributions to Ethiopia's reputation as a leading nation among Africans as Ethiopia's successful resistance against European colonization, they were still utilized by Pan-African leaders such as Marcus Garvey and Nkrumah in order to establish Ethiopia's role as a continental leader. Garvey was one of the first men to spearhead the Pan-African movement of the 20th century, which focused on

the improvement of all Africans and unity among them. Garvey launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914, already making strides in the Pan-African movement well before the contributions made by leaders such as Selassie were felt.¹⁵ Garvey's initiative to promote the ideologies that would become a part of this movement intertwined with his own acknowledgement of the significance of "Ethiopia," which poised Selassie's Ethiopia to be a widely understood symbol of the Pan-African movement.¹⁶ This deference for Ethiopia's historical symbolism of African power predisposed Haile Selassie as a leading figure for all Africans.

Selassian Pan-Africanism

Haile Selassie crowned as Emperor of Ethiopia on November 2, 1930, however, by this time he had already been actively involved in capitalizing on Ethiopia's unique status as an independent African nation in order to gain international recognition for Ethiopia. Even before he was crowned as "Haile Selassie," the young Prince Ras Tafari would take the initiative to establish harmonious diplomatic relationships with other world leaders. In addition to Ethiopia's unusual sovereign status, the nation was also largely isolated for much of its history. Selassie challenged this notion of isolationism for Ethiopia. Between the years of 1917 and 1928, Selassie traveled to such cities as Rome, Paris, and London. In 1923, the young prince continued his efforts to establish Ethiopia as a player on the international stage by leading the nation into membership within the League of Nations.¹⁷ Selassie recognized that in order to enable his nation to rise to the challenges of the 20th century, it would be critical to establish it as a respected entity within the international community. His tireless efforts in the field of international diplomacy served as a statement to the world of Selassie's intentions for progress for the underdeveloped nation in the horn of Africa. Selassie's recognition and subsequent capitalization on the opportunities presented for Ethiopia as a result of its independence and storied history poised Ethiopia and its soon-to-be Emperor to "carry the banner" for the entire continent of Africa during the period of African decolonization that was to come.

12. Although Liberia was an independent nation, it was not a nation erected by native African people, but essentially colonized by the American Colonization Society with African Americans. Ethiopia was the only truly independent African nation set up by indigenous Africans, and governed by these indigenous Africans throughout its history.

13. SKB Asante, *Pan-African Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934-1941* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1977), 10.

14. Stuart Munro-Hay, *Aksum, An African Civilization of Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1991), 57.

15. The Universal Negro Improvement Association would eventually be expanded to become the "Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League" (UNIA-ACL)

16. Garvey A. Jaques, "Garvey and Garveyism," *Caribbean Studies*, 5, no. 2 (1965): 74-75.

17. James Haskins, *African heroes* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2005), 77.



Courtesy of Thomas Norelli

In June of 1936, His Imperial Majesty made a rousing and memorable appeal to the League of Nations in which he beseeched the League to remain true to Article 16 of its Covenant pertaining to collective security. His appeal was focused towards gaining aid for Ethiopia in the wake of the Italian invasion led by Benito Mussolini. However, Selassie also widened the scope of his appeal to defend the upholding of treaties for all small states. He stated, “It is the value of promises made to small States that their integrity and their independence shall be respected and ensured.”¹⁸ In this way, Selassie was defending the legitimacy of future treaties and promises to all of Africa, a continent made up entirely of “small states.” As will be evidenced in the following, Selassie would remain committed to the value of collective security in the future.

Upon returning as Emperor of Ethiopia after five years of exile during World War II, Selassie’s political agenda remained focused on the progress of Ethiopia, but it also held the decolonization of greater Africa as a priority.

18. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 313-314.

Specifically, Selassie conducted his administration with one eye on the Pan-African movement, aiming for greater African unity and rising against European imperialist powers. After Ethiopia’s occupation by Italy in World War II, Selassie experienced firsthand a situation in which his small nation could not defend itself. Thus, his espousal of the protection offered to all by the collective security of African unity was further established through his own experience. The Emperor was instrumental as a leader within the Pan-African movement due to the fact that he had attained legitimate political power and respect at a relatively early time in the history of Pan-Africanism, which he could utilize to further the goals of the movement. It was at this time, after World War II, that the era of African decolonization truly took off due to the efforts of such influential leaders. Selassie committed Ethiopia to being a key figure in the movement from the very beginning. At the Accra Conference on April 15, 1958, Selassie asserted himself as a leader for Africa when he stated “...the free nations of Africa are giving tangible evidence of their determination to work together not only for their own good but for the good of Africa and



Courtesy of Thomas Norelli

the entire world.”¹⁹ On December 29, 1958, with the inauguration of the Economic Commission for Africa, Selassie promoted unity within Africa on an economic scale as well as increased Ethiopian involvement in the movement by hosting the conference in the nation’s capital, Addis Ababa. At the conference, Selassie ambitiously declared, “Our task...is to improve the economic lot of all African peoples.”²⁰ At the second conference for the Economic Commission of Africa on June 15, 1960, Selassie continued, “It is our conviction... that the political growth of the African peoples will not reach its culmination until the ultimate goal, which is independence and complete freedom for every African people.”²¹ It was at this conference that he also urged the creation of an African development bank. Selassie’s speeches at these conferences were focused towards

19. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 191.

20. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 196.

21. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 200.

economic and political unity and among African nations in order to achieve progress within these realms for every nation on the continent. Inherent in this progress and promotion of unification were the ideals of both the African decolonization movement and the Pan-African movement.

The speeches of world leaders certainly hold great historical significance, however, it is the actions that transpire concurrently with these speeches that truly dictate the course of history. Selassie’s word that Ethiopia was committed to African decolonization, the Pan-African movement, and the virtue of collective security (despite the League of Nations’ failure to commit to this value when Ethiopia was in need) did not go without accordant action. In 1960, during the crisis in the Congo, Ethiopia responded to the United Nations call for assistance. In November of 1960, four Ethiopian battalions were serving under the UN banner in the Congo, and Ethiopian technicians and other experts were working within UN administration within the war-torn country.²² In May of 1963, Haile Selassie met

22. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications &

with the heads of 29 other African states in Addis Ababa. This was the biggest gathering of African heads of state ever held. The conference began with Haile Selassie being elected honorary President of the Conference and ended with the signing of one of the most important pieces of legislation in all of the Pan-African movement: the signing of the charter for the Organization of African Unity (OAU).²³ Selassie resolutely announced, "This conference cannot close without adopting a single African Charter," and followed suit with resultant signing of the charter.²⁴ Selassie further dedicated his nation to the undertaking of this cause from a financial standpoint through Ethiopia's defraying of costs of the building and staff for the provisional OAU for the first two years.²⁵ Selassie's election *by other African leaders* as honorary President of this conference is evidence of the recognition he garnered from his African peers as one of the foremost leaders in the Pan-African movement. The impressive turnout at these conferences and signing of the OAU charter is evidence of the tangible unity Selassie created among African nations. His willingness to make financial sacrifices for that movement on behalf of his country is further confirmation of the priority to which he held this movement.

Due to the recognition Selassie had garnered for himself and Ethiopia on the international stage, in conjunction with the establishment of himself and his country as a proponent of African decolonization and a foremost leader of the Pan-African movement, he effectively communicated and supported these ideals around the globe. Selassie was not afraid to attack this issue in the most direct manner possible- by writing letters to heads of state of the colonial powers that were and beseeching for their granting of independence to the African colonies under their jurisdiction. For example, in a letter dated June 17, 1963, Selassie wrote to the Prime Minister of Portugal, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, saying, "We cannot acquiesce in the fact that other fellow Africans should remain oppressed in exchange for the freedom we enjoy. We believe that they too are fully entitled to enjoy freedom."²⁶ Once again, Selassie backed up his rhetoric with potential action when he threatened,

Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 209.

23. Schwab, 100.

24. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 241.

25. Schwab, 101.

26. In this excerpt from a letter to the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, Selassie is referring specifically to the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique

"...if the Portuguese Government does not respond favourably to this request all the African Independent Countries should break their diplomatic relations and discontinue all trade transaction with Portugal."²⁷ Selassie would continue to promote the cause of African decolonization on the international stage as the Ethiopian representative to the UN. On June 27, 1965, he implored the U.N. to unify in order to threaten economic sanctions to Portugal and South Africa.²⁸ Although South Africa was a free state, apartheid was still viewed as a manifestation of colonialism, in that the White settlers there severely limited the freedom of the native African population. Haile Selassie was well recognized in the United States for his efforts to promote African decolonization. President John F. Kennedy said of him, "perhaps the most celebrated of all, is his leadership in Africa." He went on to reflect on the progress that had been made in the Emperor's cause by pointing out that since his last visit to the United States in 1954, the world had seen "one of the most extraordinary revolutions in history." He was referring to the appearance of 29 independent countries. On October 1, 1963, President Kennedy and Emperor Selassie met in Washington, D.C. and discussed such issues as Portuguese colonialism in Africa, apartheid in South Africa, the civil war in Yemen, and the Cold War. Perhaps as a symbolic gesture of his independence from colonial entities, the Emperor spoke in his native Amharic throughout these talks, despite the fact that he could speak fluent English.²⁹ Selassie would continue to promote Ethiopian-American relations throughout his reign, and he was the only African leader to spare the considerable expense it took to fly to Washington, DC to attend President Kennedy's funeral. His sixth and final state visit took place on May 15, 1973, when at the age of 80 he met at the White House with President Nixon. Selassie made more state visits to the United States than any other foreign head of state in the 20th century.³⁰ It was clear that he was able to command the attention of the world, and he used that attention to further the cause of African decolonization and the

27. Haile Selassie and Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, *Diplomatic Relations between Portugal and Ethiopia: texts of the letters exchanged between Emperor Haile Selassie and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Doctor Oliveira Salazar* (Lisbon: S.N.I., 1963), 4.

28. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty, 1918-1967* (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, Publications & Foreign Languages Press Department, 1967), 375.

29. Theodore M. Vestal, *The Lion of Judah in the New World: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the Shaping of Americans' Attitudes toward Africa* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), 112-124.

30. Theodore M. Vestal, 102-104.

Pan-African movement.

Selassie's legacy, although complicated in Ethiopian history as a result of the emperor's deposition in 1974 and subsequent installation of a communist government, endured in many ways through the work of other subscribers to the Pan-African movement. One way that this occurred was through the establishment of the Rastafari religious movement. This movement has its roots in the ideals inherent within both the African decolonization and Pan African movements; among these are the independence of Africans from European powers and the unification of the continent of Africa. The movement "draws strength and sustenance from the myth of a golden age in the past; in this case, a united continent called 'Ethiopia' untouched by European colonizers." It also furthers Selassie's reputation as champion of these movements through the worship of him as God Incarnate. By the late 1970's, the rasta movement had spread to England, Holland, France, Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Canada, the United States, and various corners of Africa; with this growth in the rasta movement, Selassie's reputation as an African leader became globally popularized.³¹ Perhaps most enduring of all the vehicles for perpetuation of Selassie's legacy as an African icon was the music of Bob Marley, wherein Selassie is frequently referenced. Marley's song "War" contains lyrics that are nearly quoted verbatim from a speech Selassie made to the United Nations General Assembly on October 6, 1963.³² The speech (and invariably, the song) emphasizes various overarching goals of the African decolonization and Pan-African movements, such as African Unity, freedom, and human equality. Marley's music remains popular today, and serves as a symbol of the Rastafari movement and thus, also as a symbol of Selassie, Pan-Africa, and African decolonization.

Conclusion

Emperor Haile Selassie utilized the formal and informal power that came with his position as head of state of Ethiopia in various ways to promote African decolonization and the Pan-African movement. His message was clear: Africans will be better able to progress their respective nations and status in the 20th century through independence from imperial powers, increased unity with each other, and skillful diplomacy

within and outside of Africa. Selassie's speeches, written word, and actions are all resolutely and consistently in line with these goals. If Haile Selassie had not made the great contributions that he did to these movements, parts of the African continent could very well still be under European colonial jurisdiction today. His extraordinarily long reign from 1930 to 1974 granted him unprecedented time to work towards these goals through the indoctrination of others in their purpose and implementation of direct action on behalf of Ethiopia to strategically move towards targeted results that reflect the ethos inherent in these movements. He sacrificed the resources of his Ethiopia for the good of greater Africa in several instances, thus exemplifying the great importance that the Emperor placed on the progress of the entire continent. Although he was only Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie I carried more than just his country throughout his reign; he carried the continent of Africa, a continent that had been unjustly subjugated to colonial rule, and brought about progress, revolution, and unity for its people. The repercussions of Selassie's Pan-African agenda continue to endure today, and only time will tell what their ultimate impact eventually becomes.

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31. E.E. Cashmore, *The Rastafarians: Minority Rights Group Report No. 64* (London: Expedite Graphic Limited, 1984), 1-11.

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Thomas Norelli majored in history and graduated in May 2012. He would like thank **Dr. Matthew Heaton** of the history department for his guidance and support.

Featured Articles *Feature*

Featured articles are written by our editors to showcase research programs or projects that are not in research paper format.

Sri Lanka

Research by James Flanagan

Featured Article by Sam Sacks & Katie Dunsmore

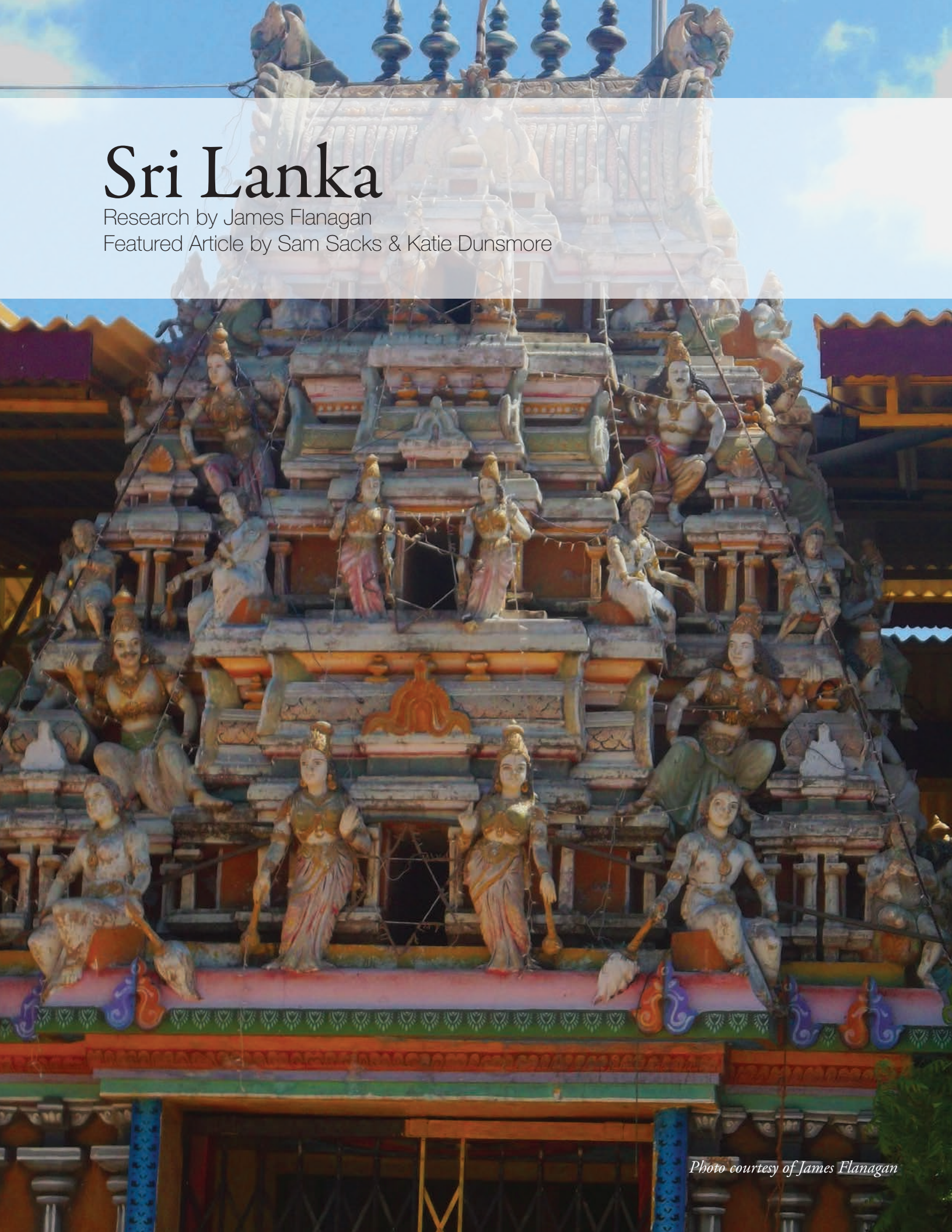


Photo courtesy of James Flanagan

The Sri Lankan Conflict was a civil war between the country's government and a militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, also known as the Tamil Tigers, who sought to create a state independent from Sri Lanka. The civil war between the two groups lasted 26 years, from July 1983 to May 2009. Ultimately, the government of Sri Lanka won, but at a great cost to its population. The fighting created hardship for Sri Lanka's national economy and its people. The government forces, while fighting to take back land from the Tamil Tigers, were accused of human rights violations. The Tamil Tigers even came to be categorized throughout the world as a terrorist organization. An estimated 100,000 people were killed during the conflict.

Pre-Conflict Sri Lanka had been a model postcolonial state, and, therefore, economic development theorists have been baffled as to how this country fell into a bloody, 26-year civil war. For International Studies major James Flanagan, a sophomore and member of the Virginia Tech Corp of Cadets, this lack of answers and poorly addressed responses served as motivation to do his own research on the subject.

economic development theorists have been baffled as to how this country fell into a bloody, twenty-six year civil war.

Aided by his faculty advisor, Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Flanagan proposes to "explore the socio-economic development nexus in relation to the Pre-Conflict Sri Lanka." In other words, he wanted to study the relationship between social issues and economic development in Sri Lanka as a basis for understanding how the country managed to fall into conflict. Furthermore, Flanagan examines Sri Lanka's prospects for future development by synthesizing several developmental perspectives into a concise yet holistic point of view.

According to Flanagan, he hopes his research will show the complexity of the "conflict in Sri Lanka and what needs to be done to move forward." For him, his research was about asking the right questions that need to be answered.

Previous research concerning the Sri Lankan conflict has focused on either ethnic or economic issues, whereas Flanagan's research focuses on the relationship between the two. He has relied on analysis and comparison of literature collected from both American and South Asian authors. He says one of the most difficult parts of his work has been overcoming the "huge difference between the perspective of American and European writers and South Asian authors" as to problems surrounding the conflict.

As a part of his research process, Flanagan has visited Sri Lanka in summer 2012 with the Virginia Tech Center for 21st Century Studies and the non-government organization Sarvodaya, a non-profit community development program that has helped Sri Lankans during and after the civil war. During his trip, he traveled throughout the country while collecting South East Asian literature to use in his research. In his travels he visited the cities of Colombo, Trincomalee and Kandy. Regarding his research, Flanagan says he is investigating issues that "many people realize, although many people also ignore" and "opinions were strong about identity and what it [meant] to be Sri Lankan." He has also continued to keep in contact via email with various citizens, journalists, poets and activists he met on his trip. One guide in particular left an impressionable mark. Windsor, a retired Sarvodaya worker, who traveled throughout the country with Flanagan's group was "a testament to the ever willing to learn mentality of many people there" and "he took every opportunity to talk and listen to us."

As to the future of his research, Flanagan hopes to apply his work in a way that will allow the issue of Sri Lankan development to move away from a technical problem and into a social issue. Flanagan realizes that "Sri Lanka's future is not yet certain, [and] the future depends on the restructuring of identity and status of Tamils (the rebel insurgency) in Sri Lanka." In order to do this, the relationship between social and economic issues needs to be exposed and understood. Flanagan hopes to make another trip to Sri Lanka soon, this time to look into how the military is working to change social development in the country.

Violent Persuasion

Research by Kwaku Akon & Dr. James Ivory

Featured Article by Chelsea Gillenwater & Priscilla Alvarez

VT GAMER LAB
Virginia Tech Gaming
and Media Effects
Research Laboratory

Violence in the media has always been a hot-button issue, and it generally becomes a more salient topic when real-world brutality gains extensive news coverage. Violent tragedies often defy explanation, but we look for them anyway, examining the nation's mental health systems, gun control laws, and media consumption in the wake of mass violence. With all the brutal, graphic images that appear in film and video games, it is rather easy to pin the blame on fictionalized violence—logically, it seems that being exposed to those images over and over again could desensitize users, especially young people, to the value of human life. Anxieties about gaming and graphic films have even begun to influence public policy, prompting many politicians to examine these media industries in order to determine if violent images should be reduced or censored. Avid media consumers have long championed the positive and artistic qualities of games and movies, but for many, the similarities between real-world tragedies and their Hollywood counterparts can be alarming.

Research on the topic does little to assuage these fears, and studies often produce counterintuitive results. Despite protests from parents, pundits, and politicians, there is still little consensus as to whether the situation is really all that dire. Certainly, many researchers have validated the common fear that video games lead to higher levels of aggression, stress, and blood pressure, but others tell a different story. For almost every study that finds a link between simulated violence and aggressive, real-life behavior, another finds that gaming is essentially harmless. While media consumers might feel more stress immediately after playing a game or watching a violent film, no links have been found in the lab connecting fictionalized violence with real crime.

For Dr. James D. Ivory, an associate professor from Virginia Tech's Department of Communication, the link between video games and violent behavior is simply too tenuous to draw overarching conclusions about the media industry. Ivory has long been interested in studying video games and other media, but now he has turned his attention to discovering some of the media's potentially positive effects.

"There has been a lot of attention on the potential negative effects of media portrayals on perceptions and behavior, and those effects appear to be very complex," Ivory explains. "What we know much less

the similarities between real-world tragedies and their Hollywood counterparts can be alarming

about is whether some portrayals of violence can actually bring out our better nature and increase pro-social behavior."

The idea came from a discussion Ivory had about some of the artistic and narrative qualities of video games.

"I had a conversation with a colleague at a research conference about how he had been reflecting on a video game that had made him feel very thoughtful about the way a violent scene had been portrayed," Ivory says. "That experience had him wondering about the many ways that we might respond to violence depending on its presentation."

In other words, perhaps violence affects us most by its context. In many television shows, the good guys often behave violently, ostensibly for the greater good or to protect others, but many other violent actions are treated as problematic and disturbing by their narratives. The possibility of using violent images to encourage anti-violent attitudes is central to Ivory's ongoing study.

Ivory turned to Virginia Tech's G.A.M.E.R. Lab for this project, a laboratory group devoted to studying gaming and media effects that he founded in 2008. The lab allows undergraduates to become directly involved in the research process. Kwaku Akom, a Virginia Tech student majoring in electrical engineering and an undergraduate research associate for the lab, contributed to the design of the anti-violence project and spearheaded the process of student data collection. Students working in the G.A.M.E.R. Lab collect data for a variety of projects, but they can also influence the kinds of questions that researchers in the lab hope to answer.

The experiment will involve three separate groups of participants, and each group will be exposed to a different clip from the film *Once Were Warriors*. Two of the clips involve violent scenes—one in which the main character fights an unlikable antagonist and one



Photo courtesy of Dr. James Ivory

in which he engages in domestic violence. The first clearly presents violence as a positive solution, but the second scene shows violence that is both visually and psychologically disturbing for the audience. A third clip shows the main character singing, a non-violent control that will demonstrate the difference between reactions to violent and non-violent scenes.

According to the group's hypotheses, viewers should be negatively impacted by scenes depicting domestic abuse, which might cause them to recoil from violence in general. In keeping with the idea that fictional violent images can affect real-world behavior, participants in the study will then watch a news clip of the ongoing Syrian conflict immediately after viewing their respective film clip. The participants can then record their reactions to real-life violence, through surveys, heart rate measurements, and other factors. Theoretically, they will tend to hold more negative attitudes toward violence, experience more empathy for victims of violence, and might even be more willing to donate to Syrian relief funds.

The idea that anti-violent messages within media, however subtle, can influence audiences to actively contribute to charities and other pro-social efforts could go a long way in reforming the idea that violent media has a purely "corrupting" influence on society.

If anything, it's clear that the media can be used in a number of different ways, for good or ill, and the audience is rarely as easily swayed by the media's messages as we might imagine. Still, mass media is a major source of information, entertainment, and engagement for a vast majority of Americans, and that level of influence demands attention and careful study. With public policy hinging on current research findings, Ivory's exploration of potentially positive effects could give the public a much more thorough and balanced understanding of how we can use our media to create a better society.

Joining Past and Present Entertainment: Popular Music in Television

Research by Chelsea Gillenwater

Featured Article by Katlyn Griffin and Erika Lower



THE COMPLETE FIRST SEASON



Musical theatre and stage productions seem to be suffering in the wake of television and film. Chelsea Gillenwater, a junior studying English and Communication, argues that the elements that people loved in musical theatre can still be found in a number of famous TV shows, especially children's animation.

Chelsea was inspired to pursue this research topic after taking an Honors Colloquium with Dr. Michael Saffle, a professor in the Department of Religion and Culture, called "Musical Comedy Then and Now." After the class, Dr. Saffle suggested a research topic involving music in popular animated television shows. She began by looking at the history of the relationship between music and animation and how it has evolved from classic cartoons, like *Looney Tunes*, to modern shows. She also researched the existing literature to provide a theoretical background for what she was looking for.

Part of her research consisted of watching a large amount of animated television to see how it integrated music into the storytelling. Chelsea admits that *Phineas and Ferb* is one of her favorite shows, and she loved doing this particular research project "because it didn't feel like work."

Historically, musical numbers served mostly as parodies of existing musical genres and adopted theatrical tropes mainly for the sake of satirizing popular culture. While theatrical animation quickly established its own musical conventions, short-form programming charted a different course, focusing on musical parody instead of adopting the familiar ballads and showstoppers of musical theatre. *Looney Tunes* began premiering in theatres but eventually made the successful transition into broadcast television in the 1950s.

In recent years, more and more animated shows have begun embracing a more theatrical form of storytelling by including

more animated shows
have begun embracing a
more theatrical form of
storytelling

nuanced songs with real, emotional resonance. This new trend coincides with an upswing in shows with strong, emotional cores and good-hearted characters, which are perfectly suited for musical theatre. Music in animation changes along with the evolution of animated content, and cartoons may slowly be moving from satirical to sincere forms of storytelling, opening up new avenues for musical influence.

In her research, Chelsea explores musical animation shows, such



Photo courtesy of Chelsea Gillenwater

as *Phineas and Ferb* and *Adventure Time*, and how they use music to enhance their entertainment value. *Phineas and Ferb*, a Disney Channel cartoon aimed at both children and adult audiences, features an original song in every episode and consciously draws upon long-established musical traditions and genres. *Phineas and Ferb* perhaps best exemplifies the marriage between inventive, sophisticated humor and a steady emotional core.

Adventure Time also uses musical cues for moments of intense character development. Chelsea was surprised by the nuanced musicality of these shows because she was expecting simplified music that just accompanied the children's story instead of adding to the overall understanding of the show. The music that is written for both *Phineas and Ferb* and *Adventure Time* fits the humor and style of the shows—suitable for children, but also entertaining for adults.

Although musicals can often feel jarring for modern audiences, animation already overcomes the initial suspension of disbelief with its hand-drawn or computer-generated characters. Pinpointing other possible ties between animation, television, and musical tropes could give us some indication as to how and why musicals are making the move to the small screen—and what that means for the future of musical theatre.

Research

is formalized curiosity.

It is poking

and prying

with a purpose. *

poke

around

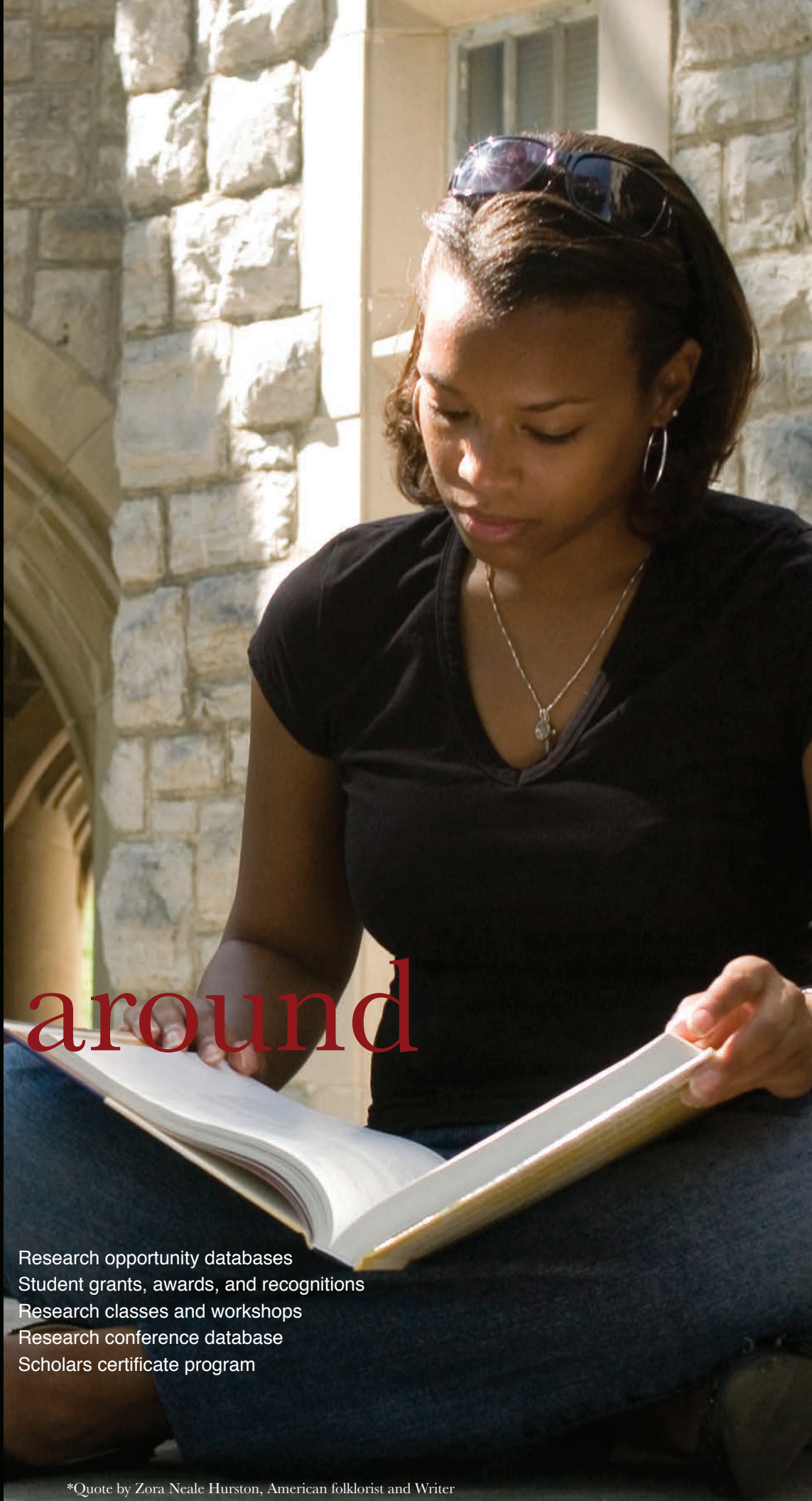
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*Quote by Zora Neale Hurston, American folklorist and Writer





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